

Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture

P.T. SRINIVASA AIYANGAR



ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
NEW DELHI
1985

ASIAN EDUCATIONAL SERVICES
C-2/15, SDA, P.O. BOX 4534
NEW DELHI-110016.

SERVICES
10016

Printed at Pearl Offset Press Pvt Ltd

Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture

BY

P. T. SRINIVASA IYENGAR, M.A.

(*Reader in Indian History, Madras University.*)

A LITTLE more than a year ago, on the invitation of the Syndicate of the Madras University I delivered the Sir S. Subrahmanya Iyer lecture. I chose for the subject of that lecture the 'Stone Age in India' and gave an account of the life of the Indian people so far as it could be inferred from the relics of the Stone Age collected so far. Then I described that lecture as the first chapter of Indian History. My book on *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, published more than fifteen years ago, is the third chapter of the History of India. The lectures I am going to deliver now, will constitute the second chapter of this entrancing story of the continuous evolution of Indian life from its start when man first appeared on this globe. The proper history of India is not the story of the rise and fall of royal dynasties, nor that of frequent invasions and constant wars, but that of the steady growth of the people in social, moral, and religious ideals, and their ceaseless attempts to realize them in actual life. Hence the work of the historian of India, as I understand it, is chiefly concerned with the construction of pictures of how the people, age by age, ate and drank, how they dressed and decorated themselves, how they lived and loved, how they sang and danced, and how they worshipped their gods and solved the mysteries of human existence.

THE SUBJECT

To the good old Vedic word 'Ārya', European scholars have attached varying connotations. A hundred years ago comparative philology was in its childhood and anthropology in an embryonic condition, and German Sanskritists invaded the realms of anthropology and imposed on it the theory that a highly civilized Aryan race, evolved in the central Asian Highlands, flowed down in various streams to India, Persia, Armenia, and the different countries of Europe, fertilized those countries and sowed the seeds of civilization far and wide. Soon this theory was modified by transferring the original centre of the Aryan race to Europe. The patriotism of French and of German scholars impelled them to rival with each other and to conclude that the motherland of each of them alone could support the honour of being the first centre of Aryan culture. Others assigned this honour to Scandinavia, to Finland, to Russia. As seven cities claimed Homer dead, so several countries claimed to be the original land of the Āryans. Then the Italian Anthropologists came into the scene and proved that the Āryans who invaded Greece, Rome and other European countries were savages who remained in the Stone Age when their neighbours had reached the Bronze Age and that wherever they settled

in old times they destroyed the pre-existing civilization, for instance, in Crete and Etruria. To-day anthropologists say that all the races of the world are more or less mixed and that there never was a distinctive, pure Āryan race. The benefit of the theory of a conquering, civilizing Aryan race is now reserved only for Ancient Indian History, text-books of which teach that the Vedic culture was developed outside India and was imported into that country, ready made, by conquering invaders. But a careful study of the Vedas, such as is found in my *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, reveals the fact that Vedic culture is so redolent of the Indian soil and of the Indian atmosphere that the idea of the non-Indian origin of that culture is absurd. So we have got to restore, to the word 'Ārya', its original meaning found in the Vedas. The Rishis of the Vedas used the word 'Ārya' without any racial implications, but only in the sense of a people who followed the fire-cult as opposed to the fireless-cult. In the Vedic times two cults prevailed in India: (1) that followed by the Āryas to whom Sanskrit was the sacred tongue, the language of the Gods, who made offerings to the Gods through Agni, because they believed Agni to be the mouth of the Gods, and (2) that followed by the Dasyus whom the Āryas described as *anagni*, the fireless. Thus Ārya was always in India a cult name, the name of a method of worship, whose main characteristic was the lighting of the sacred fire. There were two forms of the Ārya fire cult—the *Grihya* and the *Śrauta*, the cult of one fire and the cult of three fires, the *Ekāgni* and *Trīṣṭāgni*, the simple domestic fire-rites still performed in the houses chiefly of the Brahmanas and the gorgeous sacrifices, chiefly conducted by *Rajas* in ancient India up to the age of the Armageddon on the plains of Kurukshetra, and now almost extinct. The Ārya rites, besides being characterized by the mediation of the Fire-God, also required the use of Sanskrit *mantras*, which were promulgated by the ancient seers called Rishis; the Dasyu rites had no use for fire or for Sanskrit *mantras* or for a privileged class of expert priests.

When did the Ārya rites rise? It is impossible to determine when the concept of fire as the mouth of the Gods was worked out or when the cult of one-fire began. But it is possible to find out when the three-fire cult commenced. The Vedas and the Purāṇas assert that Purūravas first lighted the triple fire in Pratiśthāna (now Prayāga or Allahabad); and though many royal dynasties rose and fell during the Age of the Rishis, we learn from Pargiter's *Studies of the Traditional History of Ancient India* that more than a hundred kings of one dynasty in particular reigned from the time of Purūravas down to the middle of the first millennium before the Christian era. Disregarding the Paurāṇika claim of incredibly long reigns for some of the kings of this dynasty and allowing a modest average of twenty-five years to each of them, we reach the very probable conclusion that the three-fire cult and the promulgation by the Rishis of the associated Vedic *mantras* on a large scale began about 3000 B.C. Now from the Vedic *mantras* we learn that there was intimate commercial intercourse, though there were cult rivalries, between Southern and Northern India, from the beginning of the age of the Rishis. South Indian articles like pearl, mother of pearl, scented woods, elephants, gold, the pea-fowl, etc., were used in the land of the Āryas (Āryāvarta); a very careful study of these Vedic *mantras* also reveals that the languages of South and

North India began to influence each other, however faintly, from the beginning of the Vedic Age. An analysis of the information contained in these *mantras* also discovers the fact that the Āryas and the Dasyus, though violently opposed to each other in the cults they followed, had attained to absolutely the same level of general culture ; except in the matter of religion and literature, they lived the same kind of life ; they ate the same food, wore the same kind of clothes, had the same amusements, the same customs, manners, etc., and followed the same methods of making love and war.

Is there any way of constructing a picture of the life of any Indian people before the rise of the Ārya cult 5,000 years ago ? The Tamils were the most highly cultured of the people of India before the age of the Rishis and it is proposed here to investigate the culture which the ancient Tamils attained to in South India, before the gorgeous three-fire Ārya rites spread, and the associated Vedic literature was promulgated, in the valleys of the Sindhu and the Gaṅgā.

THREE LINES OF EVIDENCE

There are three lines of evidence which can be utilized for constructing a picture of the life of the ancient Tamils before the rise of the Ārya triple-fire cult in India, north of the Vindhya. The first source of information regarding ancient South Indian life is the catalogue of prehistoric antiquities of South India, of artefacts, discovered by geologists and others, belonging to the Neolithic and early Iron Ages and deposited in the various museums of India. The study of these artefacts has to be supplemented by a careful examination of the sites whence these relics of ancient Indian man have been derived and which represent the settlements of Neolithic and early Iron Age men. Besides a careful study of ancient settlements the investigator ought also to observe the sites of ancient graveyards and conduct excavations of Neolithic and early Iron Age graves in the Tamil country before he can understand their implications with regard to the lives led by the ancient Tamils. The second line of evidence is furnished by a study of the words which the Tamil language possessed before it came in any kind of contact with Sanskrit, the sacred language of the Āryas. Nouns and verbs constitute the trunk of a language and the objects and actions which nouns and verbs refer to must have been possessed by or known to the speakers of a language before they could use those essential parts of speech in their talk. If we could make up a list of the nouns and verbs which, we are certain, belonged to the earliest stratum of the language of a people, we may infer from it what objects they handled or had observed, what actions they were able to perform, in other words, what was the nature of the life that they lived, what was the general culture they had attained to. This is the main object of this study. Our third line of evidence is the early literature of the Tamil people. The existing specimens of this literature no doubt belong to times later than what we are investigating. But we are certain that the even tenor of the life of the people in that ancient epoch was not disturbed by catastrophic changes ; therefore, as the life of the people mirrored in the early literature, which we now possess is,

but an unbroken continuation of that of the earlier epoch, the evidence of that literature can be used to confirm the conclusions reached by the use of the other two lines of evidence. It is proposed in this study to construct a picture of the culture of Tamils five thousand years ago by utilizing these sources of information.

THE EVENING OF THE LITHIC EPOCH

An account of the life of the South Indians of very ancient times derived from a study of the artefacts of the stone ages has been given by me in my *Stone Age in India*. The life of the marauder, of the hunter and the worker in bamboo, of the cowherd and the shepherd, of the farmer and the weaver, and of the fisherman, the salt-scraper and the sailor, had all been evolved amongst them while yet in the New Stone Age, as is proved by the fact that they made polished stone tools necessary for the pursuits of the different means of livelihood associated with these forms of ancient culture. All these different pursuits existed at the same time, each in the region suited to it.

The life of the people at the end of the lithic times may yet be found in the interior of the Tamil land. There still exist in the heart of the Tamil country hamlets and villages where the ubiquitous Telugu Komaṭi is not found, where the ministrations of the all-pervasive Brāhmaṇa do not exist, and where even the *Kabandha* arm of British trade has not introduced kerosene oil and the safety match, called by the people *manṇṇey*,¹ earth-oil and the fire-stick, *ṭṭkuchchi*,² where the whistle of the steam-engine and the toot of the motor horn has not yet been heard, and if you wipe off from the picture of the life of the people there the part played by iron tools, you can see with your eyes the slow placid life of the stone-age man exactly as it was in ten thousand B.C. Even in other parts of the country, which have participated in the elevation of culture due to the later discovery of iron, to the spread of the Ārya culture by the Brāhmaṇas, and to the development of internal trade during the long ages when there were numerous shufflings of dynasties of Indian Rajas and of foreign trade after European ships pierced the extensive sea-wall of Bhāratavarṣha, the greater part of the life of the people is but the life of the stone-age man, exactly as it was when Indian man was in the lithic epoch of culture.

THE DAWN OF THE IRON AGE

About seven thousand years ago, began the Iron Age in India. I assign a greater antiquity to the Iron Age in India than most scholars are inclined to admit, because the Vedic culture which began at least five thousand years ago was a culture of an advanced iron age. Prior to it flourished the cultures revealed by the excavations at Adichechanallūr in the Tinnevely District and Mohenjō Daro and Harappa in the Indus valley. Moreover I shall presently prove that the Iron Age began when Tamil had not come in any kind of contact with Sanskrit

¹ மண்ணெண்ணெய்.

² தீக்குச்சி.

the linguistic vehicle of Vedic culture. Hence two thousand years before Pūruravas lighted the triple-fire at Pratiṣṭhāna is not at all an exaggerated estimate of the length of the Pre-Vedic Iron Age in ancient India.

In India the Stone Age quietly passed into the Iron Age. In other parts of the world, the Stone Age was followed by the Copper Age, in which people made their tools (and ornaments) of copper and they discovered methods of hardening copper and made copper knives with edges as sharp as steel ones, an art which is now forgotten. The Copper Age was soon followed by the Bronze Age, in which they learnt to make an alloy of copper and tin, which was very much harder than copper. But in South India as in China, no brief Copper Age or long Bronze Age intervened between the Neolithic Age and that of Iron. 'Professor Growland, F.R.S., the great metallurgist and the successful explorer, archæologically, of the Japanese Islands, has expressed the idea that the smelting of iron may have been hit upon by accident while experiments were being made. This lucky accident may well have happened in India, where the iron industry is one of great antiquity (far greater indeed than in Europe, e.g., at Hallstat or Le Tené) and iron ores occur so largely.'¹ An examination of several Neolithic sites proves that the passage from the Lithic to the Iron Age was not catastrophic but that the two ages overlapped everywhere. Stone tools continued to be used long after Iron tools were made, more especially on ceremonial occasions, for the stone tool being the older one, was sacrosanct and alone possessed ceremonial purity, and hence stone tools occur along with iron ones in the graves of the early Iron Age.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the historian of India, an expert numismatist and not primarily an investigator of pre-historic antiquities and one totally ignorant of South Indian life or history and of early South Indian artefacts, assumes without a shadow of proof that iron was 'utilized in Northern India from at least 1000 B.C.', and that 'in Southern India the discovery or introduction of iron may have occurred much later and quite independently.'² Here are two gratuitous assumptions. The Vedic culture which was developed in India at least before 3000 B.C., was an Iron Age culture. The iron (*ayas*) castles, mythological or actual, spoken of in the Vedic *mantras* and the distinct reference to *syāmamayas*,³ black metal, are enough to prove this. So far as South India is concerned, Foote, who has examined most South Indian pre-historic sites so far known, has concluded that the antiquity of the iron industry of India is far greater than in Europe; and every one who has opened graves of the later Stone Age and the earlier Iron Age and studied the pottery associated with stone and iron tools and has also carefully examined settlements of those ancient times can easily satisfy himself that iron was discovered and worked in South India many millenniums before the beginnings of the Christian era. Soon after iron was discovered, South Indians learned to isolate from their ores gold, silver and copper and make ornaments and utensils of these metals. They also arrived at the general idea of metal as a material for household utensils in addition to stone and

¹Foote, *Prehistoric Antiquities*, p. 25.

²*Oxford History of India*, p. 4.

³*Ātharva Veda*, xi. 3, 7.

wood previously used. They gave to metal the name of *pon*,¹ the lustrous material, from *pol*² to shine. Gold was also called *pon*, the metal *par excellence*, as well as *taṅgam*,³ the superior metal, *uṇarndu pon*,⁴ the superior (ever clean) metal. Iron was *irumbu*,⁵ the dark metal, from *ir*,⁶ dark (whence *iruvu*,⁷ *irā*,⁸ night, *irul*,⁹ *iruttu*,¹⁰ *irutchi*,¹¹ darkness, *irundai*,¹² charcoal). Probably *irumu*¹³ was the earlier form of Telugu *inumu*. Iron was also called *karumbon*,¹⁴ meaning the black metal. Silver was *velli*,¹⁵ the white metal, and copper *sembru*,¹⁶ the red metal. That these four metals were alone known to ancient Tamil India and that tin, lead, and zinc were not known is proved by the fact that the Tamil names of these latter have been borrowed from Sanskrit. Thus tin is *tagaram*,¹⁷ lead is *ṛyam*¹⁸ (from Sanskrit *śiṣam*, through Prakrit), and Zinc is *tuttam*¹⁹ (whence the English word *tutty*, polishing powder) or *nāgam*.²⁰ Tin and lead are also respectively called *veḷḷiyam*,²¹ and *kāṛiyam*,²² white and black *ṛyam*,²³ under the mistaken idea that they were black and white varieties of the same metal. Brass, an alloy of copper and zinc, was also borrowed from Aryan India, its name *pittalai*²⁴ being borrowed from the Northern dialects. Bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, was not unknown in ancient Tamil India, for a few bronze implements and ornaments have been discovered in early Iron Age graves; one such, a tiny *kūja*²⁵ (with its mouth so small that the little finger could not be squeezed into it). I recovered from an ancient grave, associated with a bill-hook, whose peculiar shape, similar to that of the weapon of the village gods, betokened its great age; and this vessel was made of an alloy of copper and tin, which, on chemical analysis, was found to be remarkably free from impurities. The Bronze Age in Europe extended over long centuries; but there was no necessity in South India for a Bronze Age, because the people had discovered iron before bronze and iron is a much better material for tools than bronze. The goldsmiths of India have used bronze only for polishing hammers and for stamps and dies, because these have to be made of a material both hard and incapable of being covered with rust, which would deteriorate the faces of polishing-hammers and destroy the delicate lines of the designs incorporated in stamps, dies, and moulds. Otherwise iron alone was the material used for tools in South India throughout the ages. Bronze was called in ancient Tamil *uṇai*,²⁶ but the fact that more bronze was imported from Northern India than was made in Southern India, is proved by the use of the words *kañjiyam*,²⁷ *kañjiyam*,²⁸ from Sanskrit *kāṁsyam*, and *tāram*,²⁹ from Sanskrit *tāra*, radiant, shining, as well as the artificial compound words *veṅgalam*,³⁰ the white vessel Malayalam *veḷḷodu*,³¹ the white shell. Bronze was worked to some extent in South India, but 'the numerous bronze objects, many of which are of great beauty from the cemeteries of the South, do not belong to an age characterized by the sole use of that alloy.'³²

¹பெர். ²பெர். ³தம்சம். ⁴உயர்ந்தபெர். ⁵இரும்பு. ⁶இர். ⁷இரவு. ⁸இர. ⁹இருள். ¹⁰இருட்டி. ¹¹இருட்டி. ¹²இருத்தை. ¹³இரு. ¹⁴கரும்பெர். ¹⁵வெள்ளி. ¹⁶செம்பு. ¹⁷தாமிரம். ¹⁸சுயம். ¹⁹குத்தம். ²⁰தாமிரம். ²¹வெள்ளியம். ²²காசியம். ²³சுயம். ²⁴பித்தலை. ²⁵கூஜா. ²⁶ஊர். ²⁷கஞ்சியம். ²⁸காஞ்சியம். ²⁹தாரம். ³⁰வெள்ளலம். ³¹வெள்ளை. ³²பெர்.

³² J. Coggin Brown, *Cat. of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum*, p. 8.

As Foote, too, remarks, 'as it fell out, however, the discovery of the alloy [bronze] was not made in India till after the art of iron-smelting had been acquired and iron weapons and tools had come largely in use.' *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

THE COPPER AGE IN NORTH INDIA

There is some evidence that there was a copper age in some parts of Northern India, which preceded the iron age there. Implements composed of practically pure copper have been found at several sites in Northern India, chiefly in the Upper Ganges Valley. Besides, at Gungeriah in the Balaghat District of the Central Provinces has been found a hoard, which 'according to Sir John Evans . . . is the most important discovery of instruments of copper yet recorded in the old world. In 1870 no less than 424 hammered copper implements, made of practically pure metal, weighing collectively 829 pounds, and 102 thin silver plates were discovered there. The copper implements are extremely varied in form, principally consisting of flat celts of many different shapes. There are also many long crowbar-like instruments with an expanded lunette-shaped chisel edge at the lower end, which may be designated as 'bar-celts'. The silver objects are all laminæ about the thickness of ordinary paper, comprising two classes, viz., circular disks and 'bull's' heads. The Gungeria deposits although found south of the Narbada River, is clearly to be associated by reason of its contents with Northern India.'¹ The Upper Ganges Valley was the home of the Arya cult in ancient days. Hence copper became a holy metal in that cult; copper knives were used in some sacramental acts, e.g., marking cattle's ears,² hence copper vessels to Brahmanas even to-day possess ceremonial purity which bronze and iron vessels do not possess and are used for holding consecrated water during ceremonial worship. Not so outside the Arya cult, where copper is not considered holier than iron, for it was not discovered earlier than the black metal in South India.

IRON AGE ANTIQUITIES

Tools of various shapes have been recovered from the graves of this period. From one site on the Shevaroys in the Salem District Foote got 'a large axe, a very fine bill-hook of large size with its handle in one piece, a sharp sword and two javelin heads made with tangs instead of sockets.'³ From another site were got 'axe-heads, spear heads and fragments of blades of large knives or small swords. The iron axe-heads had a broad butt unlike a very good one (found in another place, which had) a very taper butt end expanding into a rather leaf-shaped blade. The method of fastening the iron axe-heads to their helves would seem to have been that adopted nowadays or certainly not very long ago, namely, of inserting the butt-end of the axe-head into a cleft in a piece of hard wood with a couple of rings and a wedge to tighten the hold of the helve. The rings are placed on either side of the butt end, and the wedge is driven tightly through the ring spaces and prevents the axe-head from slipping; but the lower end also prevents the cleft in the helve from extending downwards.'⁴ The shapes of the bill-hooks and some other tools of the

¹ J. Coggin Brown, *op. cit.* p. 10.

² *Lohita Svadhiti*, *Ath. Ved.*, vi. 141, 2.

³ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 63.. Cf. the way in which the blades of spades, *manvelli*, are furnished with handles now.

early Iron Age were exactly like those of the implements now in the hands of the village gods, as I found from a specimen obtained from a grave in the Pudukotta territory. While the shapes of tools used for secular purposes have changed with time on account of changes of fashion or other causes, the gods have stuck to the oldest fashions of tools.

Pre-historical iron tools have not been found in sufficiently large numbers considering the wide spread of iron manufacture in ancient India; for iron objects of all kinds are with great ease 'utterly destroyed and lost by oxidation when exposed to damp, yet, from the very durable character of the pottery the iron-age people produced and the vast quantity of it they left, it is evident that in a large number of cases they must have occupied the old neolithic settlements; and the celts and other stone implements are now mixed up with the highly polished and brightly coloured sherds of the later-aged earthenware. Except in a very few cases the dull-coloured and rough surfaced truly (or rather early) neolithic sherds occur but very sparingly'.¹ Indian iron age pottery was so good that Foote remarks that the people who could make such high class pottery . . . must have attained a considerable degree of civilization.² Foote discovered at Maski near Raichur, in the Hyderabad State, 'the right jamb of the door of a small hut-urn, the prototype of the hut urns now met with in various parts of the country, some of which show remarkable resemblance to the same objects of Western classical antiquity, such as were found under the volcanic tufa near the Alban Lakes to the South of Rome. They were in some cases filled with the ashes of the dead after cremation, which were introduced by a little front door. The door was secured in place by means of a rope passing through two rings at its sides and tied round it. The whole resembled in shape a cottage with vaulted roof'.³ The little door of another little hut-urn found by Foote 'had no hinges but was kept closed by two rude bolts working through flattish rings, on either side of the door, into a wider ring in the centre of it. . . . One in the British Museum . . . is filled with the ashes of the dead, which were introduced by a little door. This door was secured by a cord passing through two rings at its sides and tied round the vase. The cover or roof is vaulted and apparently intended to represent the beams of a house or cottage. The exterior had been ornamented with a meander of white paint, traces of which remain. The ashes were placed inside a large, two-handled vase which protected them from the superincumbent mass. They have no glaze upon their surface but a polish produced by friction.'⁴ But these hut-urns probably belonged to a late age, when on account of the influence of the fire-cult, cremation had been adopted in the place of the more ancient custom of burial.

¹ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

³ 'The true iron-age vessel (pottery) is distinguished by showing rich colours and highly polished surfaces with, in some cases, elaborate and artistic mouldings,' Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 25; but Indian artists even of the ancient days avoided painting human figures, such as were 'admirably done by the Greek vase painters'. (*Ibid.*, p. 34.) The early Indian had generally a prejudice against portrait-painting or reproducing the figures of kings on coins.

⁴ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 35. Not only urns but temples also were shaped like huts.

⁵ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 35

After describing the specimens of pottery found on the left bank of the Cauvery at the ferry at Lakshmanapuram, six or seven miles above the Narsipur Sangam (in Mysore), Foote remarks, 'the people that made the Lakshmanapuram settlement must have been very advanced to have used so varied a set of crockery.'¹ On the French Rocks, not far from Mysore City, Foote found a chatty with the *swastika* emblem. In another place he found 'a perforated disc made out of a piece of dark brown pottery which has been well ground round its periphery and has had a hole equally well-drilled through its centre.'² Apparently it was a spindle whorl. East of the big tank at Srinivasapur in the Kolar Taluk, 'several acres of ground are covered with much comminuted earthenware lying in a thin layer. The prevailing colour of the sherds is red but entirely black occurs also and some specimens are brown and grey, but very few of the latter are met with. The vessels were polished, or smooth, or rough, and a great number of them richly decorated with impressed patterns of pinnate or bipinnate fronds combined with linear bands, raised or sunk. Others have fillets of dots or piletts or trellis work painted on the sides. In hardly any case is a pattern produced in duplicate and there is also great variety in the shapes of the lips of the different vessels as well as in their sizes. The fragments are referable to a considerable number of distinct forms as *lotas*, vessels with spouts, vessels with three or four legs, *chattis*, melon-shaped bowls, wide-mouthed bowls, vases, necks and feet of vases, lids and stoppers various in shape, also pottery discs for playing games and perforated discs of uncertain purpose. Half a dozen pieces of broken bangles of chank shell occurred scattered about in the layer of potsherds.'³

EARLY IRON AGE GRAVES

At Ādichchanallūr, two miles west of Srīvaikunṭam in the Tinnevely District there is 'an inexhaustible field of archæological research of the most valuable description'.⁴ The burial site here extends over a hundred acres of land. It is a long piece of high ground on the south bank of the Tāmraparṇi. The site, like all sepulchral sites, is higher than the surrounding country and is rocky or waste land unsuited for cultivation. 'About the centre of the ground some three feet of surface soil is composed of gravel, with decomposed quartz rock below. The rock has been hollowed out for the urns, with a separate cavity for each of them. In this burial ground the objects were found both inside and outside large urns of a pyriform shape. The urns were at an average distance of about six feet apart and at from three to twelve feet or more below the surface.' Some were found placed over other ones. An idea of the deposits which exist in the whole area may thus be obtained, as an acre probably holds over a thousand urns. This is the most extensive and important pre-historic burial place as

¹ Foote, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

² *Ibid.*, p. 73.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁴ All the quotations in this paragraph are from Rea's *Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities* of the place.

yet known in Southern India.' In the graves have been found articles of gold, bronze and iron and pottery. Among them were diadems of gold of various sizes and oval shape. 'Some have a strip extending beyond the two extremities with a small hole for a wire or string at each end. They are thin plates ornamented with triangular and linear dotted design. Of iron, many implements were found (Mr. Rea's list of them numbers 3,940), always placed point downwards, as if they had been thrust into the surrounding earth by the attendant mourners. There are no implements or weapons in bronze, all articles in this metal being vessels of varied shape, personal ornaments such as rings, bangles and bracelets, or ornaments which have been attached to the bases and lids of vases, such as buffaloes with wide curved horns. The domestic animals represented in bronze are the buffalo, goat or sheep and cock; and the wild animals are the tiger, antelope and elephant. There are also representations of flying birds. There are sieves in bronze in the form of perforated cups fitted into small basins, the metal of these cups being extremely thin, and the basins only a little thicker. The perforations in the cup are in the form of dots arranged in a variety of designs, chiefly concentric circles around the bottom, and concentric semi-circles sometimes interlying around the rim.' There is no evidence of cremation at the place; this assures the great antiquity of the remains, for the custom of burning corpses spread in Southern India along with the Aryan cult from North India.

In the Pudukottah territory I have found rows of early iron age graves several miles long. The one near the village of Annavāsal, ten miles from Pudukottah, is the most notable of these burial sites. The graves are of oblong shape, each oblong consisting of a double square, the side of the square being two cubits in length. It is lined throughout with well-polished stone slabs and the two compartments are separated by another similar slab forming a wall between the two. In one of the squares was probably buried in an urn a chieftain or other ancient nobleman and in the other his wife. There is a circular hole in the middle of the slab separating the compartments, probably to allow the ghosts of the buried persons to communicate with each other. In a niche in the recess in each compartment, a stone lamp was placed which was probably lighted when the person was let into the grave. Inside the urns, as in the graves of the previous age, were placed the ornaments and implements of the dead person, and a tray full of food-stuff. The tools found in these graves are both of stone and iron, proving that the older stone tools continued to be used, more especially, for religious purposes.

A new fashion of tombs called megalithic, because they were built of big blocks of stone, was introduced in the end of the neolithic or the beginning of the iron age. Modern anthropologists are of opinion that the fashion began in the Nile Valley and spread in the wake of an ancient Egyptian sun cult. This shows that there was much intercourse, cultural and commercial, between ancient India and Egypt.

Mr. Longhurst gives the following description of a megalithic tomb he found in Gajjalakonda, in Kurnul District. 'The tomb consists of a large rectangular chamber about 10 feet in length, 5½ feet in width and 7 feet in depth with a small entrance passage on the south side, 4½ feet in length, 1½ feet in width, and 3 feet high. The sides

and floor of the tomb and entrance passage are walled in and flagged with massive slabs of cut stone which are firmly imbedded in the ground in an upright position and help to carry the heavy slabs above forming the roof over the tomb.'¹

The archæologists' spade has recently brought to light two early copper age settlements of the Sindhu Valley, of more than six thousand years ago,—those of Harappa and Moheñjo Daro. The chief difference between these and the South Indian iron age sites is that in these there are relics of houses built of brick. Brick was used in North India millenniums before it was used in South India, for here very hard wood fit for house-building was available in large quantities till about a thousand years ago. The existence of these two seats of high civilization in the valley of Sindhu disproves conclusively the dream of Sanskrit scholars that Aryan immigrants with their wives and children and with their Lares and Penates, and a ready-made civilization, manufactured outside India, quietly occupied the Panjab about 3000 B.C. and, when these Aryan settlers appeared there, the original dwellers of the region vanished like the mist before the rising sun and let the foreign invaders people the Punjab with a pure Aryan race, possessing the Aryan nose and the Aryan cephalic index, as the current theory maintains. These finds also prove that, contrary to the opinion of Mr. J. Coggin Brown, in the neolithic as well as in the early metal age, there was a uniform degree of civilization attained throughout India. The advances to higher and higher civilization were as even as it was possible to be in a vast country like India.

Thus the evidence accumulated by the investigators of prehistoric antiquities of India proves that even before the spread of the Ārya fire-cult in Northern India, the people had reached a stage of culture indistinguishable from that which they occupy to-day except for the changes introduced by the cotton and metal manufactures of Western Europe during the last hundred years. The rise of the Ārya fire-cult did not alter the stage of culture reached by the people, for we find from the study of the Vedic *mantras* that there was no 'difference of culture between the Ārya and the Dasyu; according to the Hymns composed for performing the Ārya rites, the Dasyus lived in 'cities'² and under kings the names of many of whom are mentioned. They possessed 'accumulated wealth'³ in the form of cows, horses and chariots⁴ which though kept in 'hundred-gated' cities⁵ Indra seized and gave away to his worshippers, the Āryas.⁶ The Dasyus were wealthy⁷ and owned property 'in the plains and on the hills.'⁸ They were 'adorned with their array of gold and jewels.'⁹ They owned many castles.¹⁰ The Dasyu demons and the Ārya gods alike lived in gold, silver and iron castles.¹¹ Indra overthrew for his worshipper, Divodāsa, frequently mentioned in the hymns, a hundred stone castles¹² of the Dasyus. Agni worshipped by the Ārya, gleaming in

¹ *Annual Report of the Archæological Dept., Southern Circle, Madras, for 1914-15*, p. 40.

² R. V. i. 53. 8; i. 103. 3. ³ R. V. viii. 40. 6. ⁴ R. V. ii. 15. 4.

⁵ R. V. x. 99. 3. ⁶ R. V. i. 176. 4. ⁷ R. V. i. 33. 4.

⁸ R. V. x. 69. 6. ⁹ R. V. i. 33. 8. ¹⁰ R. V. i. 53. 13; viii. 17. 14.

¹¹ S. Y. S. vi. 23; A. V. v. 28. 9; R. V. ii. 20. 8. ¹² R. V. iv. 30. 20.

front of him, tore and burnt the cities of the fireless Dasyus¹ Brhaspati broke the stone prisons in which they kept the cattle raided from the Āryas.² The Dasyus owned chariots and used them in war like the Āryas³ and had the same weapons as the Āryas. The distinction indicated by 'Ārya' and 'Dasyu' was purely a difference of cult and not of race or culture.⁴

LINGUISTIC EVIDENCE

We now come to another fruitful source of information, the chief means of the study of the subject, i.e., 'pure Tamil words', those belonging to the earliest stratum of the Tamil language, those that were used by the Tamil people before they came in any kind of contact with the users of Sanskrit or with the cult associated with that language. The nouns and verbs belonging to this ancient stratum of the Tamil language indicate objects and actions with which the Tamil people were familiar in that ancient epoch. These 'pure' Tamil words are called *tanittamil mōḷigal*,⁵ words untouched by foreign influence; they were used by the Tamils to serve the needs of the culture which they had evolved for themselves before they were influenced by any other people in the world. This method of inferring the culture of a people from a study of the words peculiar to them was worked by Schröder, a generation ago, in his *Pre-Historic Antiquities of the Aryan People*; but Schröder's work suffered from three disabilities: (1) The baseless dream of a homogeneous Aryan race radiating in all directions from a central focus and carrying the torch of civilization to the countries of Western Asia and Europe, has dissolved in the light of Anthropological knowledge. (2) The people that carried the Indo-European dialects and imposed them in those countries have been proved to be a mixture of several tribes; moreover these dialects in their wanderings picked up so many words from other dialects that the words common to all the Indo-European dialects are few. (3) Even these few have undergone many phonetic changes; the laws governing these changes are being worked out so very slowly that many equations of the early scholars, e.g., that of Greek *Ouranos* with Indian *Varuṇa*, have become discredited by later research. On account of these reasons several conclusions of Schröder have had to be given up by later scholars. But the method of investigation pursued by Schröder is sound and can very well be applied to Tamil. This language, as its speakers have always claimed to be, is indigenous to South India, and grew there undisturbed by foreign languages till it reached a high stage of literary development. The Tamil race has been a homogeneous one since the Stone Age. The first few foreign students of the Tamil language indulged in a wild speculation that the Tamil language and its ancient speakers entered India from Central Asia, simply because a few Brahui words were found to appear to be allied to Tamil. This is far too slender a basis for concluding that Tamil was originally a non-Indian language. Scholars of two generations ago were fond of wantonly dragging

¹ R. V. vii. 5.3. ² R. v. iv. 28.5; x. 67.3. ³ R. V. viii. 24.27; iii. 30.5; ii. 15.4.

⁴ P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India in the Age of the Mantras*, p.12.

⁵ தனித் தமிழ்மொழிகள்.

imaginary ancient races on the map of the world, as easily as pawns are moved on a chess-board, without regard for physiographic difficulties.¹ Moreover, they were ignorant of the fact that the extensive and well-developed Stone Age culture of ancient South India, enshrined in the earliest stratum of Tamil is ample proof that the Tamils inhabited South India from time immemorial.

METHOD OF INVESTIGATION

It is the case with Tamil, as with most other languages, that there are two stages in the formation of words, an unconscious and a conscious one. When the science of comparative philology was born, about a hundred years ago, it was imagined that at first men invented and spoke only roots and, later, some of the roots became worn out into prefixes and suffixes, prepositions and postpositions, and a German philologist had the hardihood to write Aesop's Fables in an imaginary Indo-Germanic root-language, a kind of ghostly *Ursprache*, which never existed. The science of linguistics has got over this crude supposition. All students of language now recognize that it is as absurd to think that primitive man met in a solemn dumb conclave and invented a series of roots, as it is to assume with Rousseau, that the savage started gregarious life with a 'social contract'. The process of language-formation and language-growth is mostly unconscious; and if a number of words of allied meaning are also etymologically allied, if primitive man used the same stem for expressing ideas which were fundamentally identical, the process was more or less unconscious. Thus in Tamil, *var* is the common element of a series of words: *varappu*² meaning limit, border, wall, dike or ridge round a ploughed field to retain water; *varambu*,³ dam, way, limit, rule; *vari*,⁴ line, row; *varisai*,⁵ order, regularity, row; *varichchal*,⁶ dart, surgeon's probe, *varivadiveḷuttu*,⁷ written-letter, *ḷuttu*,⁸ letter, the ultimate unit of language, being conceived as existing in two forms, the spoken form and the written form,⁹ *varivari*¹⁰ (*taṇṇivaiṭṭān*),¹¹ *Asparagus racemosus*, a linear-leaved shrub, *varuḍal*,¹² stroking, thrumming a stringed (musical) instrument, *varai*,¹³ measure, limit, shore, ridge, hill, the straight bamboo, write, draw, *varaivu*,¹⁴ measure, limit, bound, separation. The implication of these facts is not that the

¹As Mr. G. Elliot Smith has remarked (*vide Nature* January 1, 1927, p. 21) 'in ethnology emotion still counts for more than reason. The dominating principle is still to force the evidence into conformity with certain catch-phrases from which a long line of philosophers have been striving to rescue the study of mankind and make a real science of it.'

²வரப்பு. ³வரம்பு. ⁴வரி. ⁵வரிசை. ⁶வரிச்சல். ⁷வரிவடிவெழுத்து. ⁸வெழுத்து.

⁹In this connection may be remembered Pavanandi's definition:

மொழி முதற் காரண மாகலுந் திர வளவி வெழுத்து.

ḷuttu, the sound, formed by a group of atoms, which is the first cause of words *Nannūl*, 58. *ḷuttu* has two manifest forms, the spoken and the written.

¹⁰வரிவரி.

¹¹தண்ணிச்சிட்டான்.

¹²வெடல்.

¹³The word *varai*, வரை, appears in Telugu as *vrayi*, by a process of oscillation of accent from the first syllable to the second syllable, of the consequent degeneration of the vowel of the first syllable, and the return of the accent to the new first syllable. This oscillation explains the formation from Tamil *uvan* of *vān*, *vāṇḍu*, *vāḍu*, from Tamil *maram* of *māṇu*, and hundreds of other similar formations.

¹⁴வரைவு.

South Indian man, when he was still dumb, arrived at the highly abstract concept of a limit marked by a straight line by a mysterious mental process unassisted by language, whereas modern man with his highly developed intelligence cannot engage himself in abstract thought without the help of words, that the primitive Tamil then invented the root *var* to express this concept, and later, formed the above words by ringing changes on the root. Language formation and linguistic growth and change are semiconscious or rather unconscious mental processes like the song of the lark or the gambol of the kid. It was when a people first came in intimate contact with a language other than their own and compared the two and noticed differences in the structure of words, of phrases and of sentences between the two languages, that they began to study their own language and the science of grammar was born. After such a contact with a foreign language, languages enter on a conscious stage of growth. Thus the words of a language belong to two stages of the growth of that language. (1) An early unconscious stage of word-invention, during the period when the language has not yet come into contact with a foreign language. Nouns belonging to this stage are called in Tamil grammar *idukuripppeyar*,¹ symbol-names, names given to things as a mere mark, a symbol, for some reason not known. These words are the oldest words of any language. (2) A later conscious stage of word-making. Words belonging to this stage are compounds consciously invented by combining *idukuri* words of one's language into new combinations; thus, when the Tamils wanted a word for 'brick', which was used as a material for house-building only in a very late stage of South Indian history, that after contact with Sanskrit, they invented two compound words, (a) *śuduman*,² burnt clay. (b) *śengal*,³ red stone. Of these, the first word did not appeal to the Tamil people and died an early death; the second has stuck on to the language. Similarly in our own days, we have invented compounds like *iruppuppādai*,⁴ the railroad, *minsāram*,⁵ electricity, etc. Such names are named by Tamil grammarians as *kāraṇapṭeyar*,⁶ casual names, because the reason why the names were given to the objects is evident.⁷ These two classes of names, *idukuripppeyar* and *kāraṇapṭeyar* are called in Sanskrit *Rūḍhi* and *Yoga*, original and derived. Or the speakers of a language when they borrow a thing from a foreign people, may borrow also its foreign name and may partially or totally remould it in accordance with the phonetic framework of the mother-tongue. Thus the Tamils of an earlier epoch borrowed the Sanskrit word *iṣṭikā*, brick, and turned into *iṣṭigai*,⁸ or *iṭṭigai*.⁹ Often they absorbed the foreign word as it was, e.g., *āṇavam laṁ*,¹⁰ *śaṣṭi*,¹¹ etc. The former are called by Sanskritists, *labbhava*, and the latter *tatsama*. We, too, nowadays, get both *labbhava* and *tatsama* words from English. Thus we speak of *tea*¹² and also *maistri* and *master*, etc.

¹இடுகுறிப்பெயர். ²சுடுமண். ³சங்கல். ⁴இருப்புப்பாதை. ⁵மின்சாரம். ⁶காரணப்பெயர்.

⁷ Some Tamil grammarians make a further distinction between *kāraṇapṭeyar* and *kāraṇa idukuripppeyar*; but this distinction does not affect the argument developed here and so need not be noticed. Others would regard verbs turned into names as *kāraṇapṭeyar*, e.g. *kal*, stone, from verb *kal*, to dig, etc., but this refinement, too, will not affect our argument, for the root is an *idukuri*.

⁸இஷ்டிகை.

⁹இஷ்டிகை.

¹²தே.

Of these two kinds of words, *idukuriṭṭeyar* and *kāraṇapṭeyar*, the first alone will serve the purpose of this enquiry. They alone come down from the far off ages when the Tamil language was born, when objects and actions were named unconsciously or semi-consciously.

Other words will not serve our purpose. Modern Tamil vocabulary includes words borrowed from English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit and Prakrit. Of the loan-words from Sanskrit, some have been borrowed wantonly, i.e., when there are many Tamil words to express the ideas; this was partly due to Brāhmaṇas whose familiarity with Sanskrit made them import such words in their Tamil speech and writing. This extensive borrowing was also due to the necessities of rhyme and assonance, a great characteristic of Tamil poetry. Loan-words began to enter Tamil not before 1000 B.C. and cannot be of any use in investigating the life of the Tamils before they came into contact with other nationalities, except that words not wantonly borrowed may be used as negative evidence to show what the Tamils were not acquainted with before such borrowing. But the date of these borrowings cannot be fixed. So even this negative evidence is not of much use. Similarly what are called *kāraṇapṭeyar*, words deliberately invented to name things and express ideas for which there were no *idukuriṭṭeyar*, cannot also serve our purpose, for such casual names can be invented at any stage of a language and cannot be proved to have existed or to have not existed at any particular period of time.

Hence *idukuri* names alone will be used in this enquiry. Such words in Tamil are practically root-words, without the wrappings of prefixes, augments, suffixes, etc., which disguise the root in Sanskrit words and make Sanskrit etymology so difficult and in some cases unconvincing. As these *idukuri* words are naked root-words they belong to the earliest stage of Tamil, the stage when the language was unconsciously forged by the stone-age man. Examples of such words are *maṇ*,¹ *puḷ*,² *uṇ*,³ *ṇṇ*,⁴ *tṭ*,⁵ *nīr*,⁶ *min*,⁷ *vān*,⁸ *ā*,⁹ *kā*,¹⁰ etc. The stage of the invention of such simple root-words cannot occur more than once in the history of a language. First because it is a stage of unconscious development of a language; secondly, if roots could be invented at any stage of a language, there would be no necessity for loan-words and consciously invented compounds at all. When men after progressing beyond the earliest stage of a language found or made new things which required names, the native power of inventing roots having become exhausted, they semi-consciously extended the meanings of old words by the processes of metaphor and metonymy. Examples of words which belong to this stage are, *maṇai*,¹¹ shield, from *maṇai*, to hide, *ṇṇ*,¹² metal from *ṇṇ*,¹³ to shine, *ṇṇ*,¹⁴ a pot from *ṇṇ*, copper, itself from *ṇṇ*,¹⁵ red. This may be treated as a second semi-conscious stage of the development of a language. These words are practically *idukuri* words, and will be utilized in this enquiry. A language becomes fully conscious only when it comes in contact with foreign languages; then it finds its soul, as it were, and becomes conscious of its structure; then alone it forges compound

¹மண. ²பு. ³உ. ⁴ஊ. ⁵த. ⁶நீ. ⁷மி. ⁸வ. ⁹அ. ¹⁰க.
¹¹மணை. ¹²ஊர். ¹³ஊர். ¹⁴ஊர். ¹⁵ஊர்.

causal names like *parimā*,¹ horse, the fast-going animal, *vaigalvaru-mīn*,² the morning star, words which will not serve the purpose of this investigation.

One more preliminary question has to be dealt with. With regard to most words now belonging to Tamil, the separation of pure Tamil words from those borrowed from Sanskrit is very easy. But most Sanskrit scholars assume that every Tamil word which looks like a Sanskrit one must have been borrowed from Sanskrit by the Tamils. When the speakers of two different languages come in touch with each other, the probabilities are that each language will borrow words from the other. Thus the names of articles produced only in South India, such as pearls, pepper, cardamoms, must certainly have been borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil. Hence Sanskrit *maricha*, *muktā*, *ela*, are derived from Tamil *miriyal*³ or *miḷagu*,⁴ *muttu*,⁵ *ēlam*;⁶ there are other Sanskrit words borrowed from Tamil wantonly which Sanskrit scholars wrongly claim to belong to Sanskrit, e.g., *niram*, *mīnam*, evidently derived from Tamil *nīr*,⁷ *mīn*,⁸ for we cannot imagine that the Tamils were drinking water and eating fish for ages without names for these objects and deferred naming them till Sanskrit speakers presented them with names for them. Many such words can be rescued for Tamil from the hands of Sanskrit scholars, but in this enquiry for the purpose of disarming criticism, words which might be legitimately claimed to be Tamil, though they look like corresponding Sanskrit words, have not been much pressed into service.

Even after giving the benefit of the doubt to Sanskrit, it will be found that there is in Tamil a strikingly large variety of names for objects and actions. The wealth of synonyms for names of familiar objects will be found to be enormous as this investigation progresses. It looks as if when man began to invent words, he was in a state of childhood and as a child revels in the use of toys and is never tired of playing with them, primitive man used the power of inventing words as his great toy and invented a number of names for the same thing. Love of certain objects familiar to them may perhaps have been another motive for this multiplication of *iḍukuṟi* synonyms: but whatever it was, it is of use in this our enquiry into the conditions of life of the ancient Tamils.

EVIDENCE OF LITERATURE

The third source of information for this study is early Tamil literature. The age to which this literature belongs has been the occasion for much dispute. The controversy has centred round a statement made at first by the commentator on *Iṟaiyanāragapporuṭ*⁹ and repeated by later commentators. It is to the effect that there were three epochs of ancient Tamil Literature, each marked by the existence of a *Sanḡam*,¹⁰ academy of its own, presided over, each by the members of a particular dynasty of Pāṇḍya kings, whose capitals were respectively *Madurai*, swallowed long ago by the sea, *Kabāḍapuram*¹¹ and *North Madurai*, i.e., the present city of that name.

¹ பரிமா. ² வைகல்வருமின்.

³ மிரியல்.

⁴ மிளகு. ⁵ முத்து.

⁶ ஏலம்.

⁷ நீர். ⁸ மீன்.

⁹ இறைவகுரகம்பொருள்.

¹⁰ சங்கம்.

¹¹ கபாடபுரம்.

This tradition says that the first *Śaṅgam* lived for 4,440 years, the second, for 3,700 years, and the third for 1,850 years. Much importance cannot be assigned to these precise figures, because early South Indian history does not reveal the existence of any particular era for the calculation of the passage of time in years from the year one of that era. Even eras established outside the Tamil country, like the Śālivāhana era, were adopted in South India not more than six hundred years ago. Dated lists of early Tamil kings do not, and cannot, on account of the want of an era, exist. The kings of these three dynasties are said to have been respectively 89, 59 and 49; this would give these Pāṇdyas lengths of reign which no student of history can accept. The average length of the reigns of kings of dynasties which have lasted long, can range between twenty and thirty, but cannot mount up to fifty or sixty. Hence the alleged durations of the Śaṅgams are impossibly long and are also incapable of being checked by means of other sources of information, and useless as evidence of age. Moreover the commentator on *Ṭṭaiyaṇṭaragapporūl* who is our first informant about the three Śaṅgams is said to be Nakkīrar.¹ But the commentaries themselves name a series of ten scholars, beginning from Nakkīrar, each the pupil of his predecessor. The last of them, Muṣṭiyāśīriyar Nīlaganḍanār,² must therefore be the author of the commentaries as we now have them, though they may be claimed to possess a few sentences coming down from Nakkīrar's time. Moreover these commentaries embody a poem of 329 stanzas, whose hero is a Pāṇḍya king, Parāṅguṣan Śaḍayan Māran Arikēṣari,³ who flourished about A.D. 750. Thus the earliest record about the chronology of the Śaṅgams is found in a book composed in the latter half of the eighth century and cannot have much evidential value, specially as there was a total absence of contemporary chronological records before that age. Let us turn now to the internal evidence of early Tamil poems. One of these decidedly claims to belong to pre-Christian times. This is an ode of twenty-four irregular lines⁴ sung by Murañjiyūr Muḍināgarāyar,⁵ a poet of the first Śaṅgam of tradition, in honour of Śērāmān Peruñjōṟṟu Udiyan Śēral Adan,⁶ a Śēra king, and attributing to him the honour of feeding the armies of both sides in the Bhārata battle. Almost all modern enquirers agree that the middle of the first millennium B.C. was the epoch of the great war between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. There is no reason, except prejudice, to discredit the chronological claim of this ode. Hence we may conclude that from the beginning of the second millennium B.C., if not earlier, the kings of the three early Tamil royal houses, the Śēra, the Śōḷa and the Pāṇḍya, as well as several petty chiefs of South India, patronized minstrels called Pāṇar,⁷ who, with the Yāl⁸ on their shoulders, wandered from court to court and sang beautiful odes on the adventures of kings and nobles in love and war, or, as they called it, on *Agam*⁹ and *Puṇam*.¹⁰ Many of these odes are now lost, because they were preserved only in the archives of human memory; but a great

¹ நக்கீரர். ² முத்தியரசிளியர் தீலகண்டனார். ³ பரங்குசன் ஸடையன் மரன் அரிகேசரி.

⁴ *Puṇanāṇṭu*, 2.

⁵ முருகுஜீர் முடினாராயர். பரம்.

⁶ சேரமான் பெருஞ்சேரந் கடியன் சேரல் ஆதன். ⁷ பாணர். ⁸ யாழ்.

number of them were collected in later times into anthologies called *Aganānūru*,¹ *Puṭanānūru*,² *Narṛinai*,³ *Kuṇḍogai*,⁴ etc. These poems, though their vocabulary shows a very slight admixture of Sanskrit and Prakrit words, due to the intercourse of South India with North India ever since the beginning of the Vedic Age, notwithstanding the rivalries between the fire cult of the latter with the fireless cults of the former, are yet entirely free from the influence of Sanskrit literature in the subject matter of poetry and in literary form. These poems undoubtedly reflect the conditions of life peculiar to the ages when they were composed. Unlike the artificial epics of post-Christian Sanskrit literature, these early Tamil poems, which it is now usual to call *śāṅgachcheyyul*⁵ are a mirror of the ages when the poets lived. Catastrophic changes occur in the life of a nation only when there is a violent contact with foreign people of a different stage of culture. As no such event occurred in South India, it is certain that the life-conditions reflected in these old poems are at least partial echoes of those of the previous far off ages which we are now discussing. But at the same time it must be remembered that the evidence of this literature should be pressed into service very cautiously, when we are sure that the customs and manners referred to therein are not later developments but evidently come down from early times.

Besides these anthologies there exists the wonderful grammar called *Tolkappiyam*,⁶ one book of which, called *Poruḷadigāram*,⁷ is the grammar of ancient Tamil poetry. This book belongs to the period when Ārya influence had fully penetrated South India; it was composed by *Tṛṇadhūmagṇi*, a Brāhmaṇa of the Kāppiya (Kāvya) clan, a branch of the Bhārgava Gotra, members of which began to migrate into South India under the leadership of Paraśurāma when he retired from North India after his quarrels with the sons of Arjuna Kārttavīrya (about 2500 B.C.). Tolkāppiyar studied pre-existing grammars written by several previous Tamil *Pulavar*⁸ (scholars), and then composed the *Tolkappiyam*. But wherever possible he tries to impose the Ārya canon law on the Tamils and to equate Tamil customs, social and literary, to Ārya ones; yet his attempts to mix up Ārya and Tamil culture is not much of a success, for the two cultures, one based on the fire cult and the other on the fireless cult, one, the product of a religious aristocracy and the other, of a social democracy, could blend as little as oil and water.

Hence it is easy to separate the Tamil culture embodied in ancient Tamil poetry and in the *Poruḷadigāram* from the well-known Ārya culture of the Ārya law-books first imported into Tamil country by the early Brāhmaṇa settlers. From these several sources of information it is possible to construct a picture of the life which the Tamil people led from the later Stone Epoch onwards in the ages that may be called Pre-Āryan, of the life that they led and the culture they had evolved independently of any other people, till the large incursions of the Jains, the Buddhas and the Brāhmaṇas in the first millennium before Christ caused the final blending of the Ārya culture and the

¹ அகநானூறு.² புதனானூறு.³ நாரீநை.⁴ குண்டொகை.⁵ சாங்கச்சேய்யுல்.⁶ தொகையியம்.⁷ பொருதுதிரம்.⁸ குறுந்தொகை.⁹ புலவர்.

Tamil culture and the present, mingled culture of South India started on its glorious evolution.

Combining these two sources of information, the pure Tamil *iḍukuṭi* words coming down from the early ages and the evidence of early Tamil literature, it is proposed to make further rents in the veil which time has woven round the life led by the Tamils five thousand years ago.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

The ancient Tamil people noted that the surface of the habitable portions of the earth could be divided into five natural regions, which they called *Palai*¹ or sandy desert land, *Kuṟinji*,² mountainous country, *Mullai*,³ forest tracts, *Marudam*,⁴ the lower river valley, fit for agricultural operations, and *Neydal*,⁵ the littoral region. They noticed that in each region was evolved a different kind of human culture. In *Palai* grew the nomad stage, in *Kuṟinji*, the hunter stage, in *Mullai* the pastoral stage, in *Marudam* the agricultural stage, and in *Neydal*, the fishing and sailing stage, of human development. Not only were these different stages of human culture evolved in these different regions, but each stage continued to exist in its own region, after other stages grew in theirs. The men of these regions were respectively called *Maṟavar*,⁶ *Kuṟavar*,⁷ *Āyar*,⁸ *Uḷavar*,⁹ and *Paradavar*.¹⁰ The recognition of the different kinds of life led by these five different classes of men is a wonderful anticipation, made several millenniums ago, of the very modern science of Anthropogeography. This science is the rival of Ethnology. The latter claims to be able to divide men into races with varying permanent physical and mental characteristics, flowing from microscopical bodies called chromosomes which pass from parent to offspring. Notwithstanding heroic efforts for a hundred years to calculate the cephalic index and the co-efficient of racial likeness, ethnologists have not been able to hit on any characteristic, unchangeable mark of race. Anthropogeography, on the other hand, holds that what are called racial characteristics are the result of the action of the environment within which a people grow, which is called the area of characterization of a race. It is remarkable the Tamils reached this idea in remote ages and defined the five natural regions, and classified races as five, each of whom followed professions suited to the region inhabited by them. Besides this horizontal classification, there was a vertical classification of the people of any one region into *Mannar*,¹¹ kings, *Vallal*,¹² petty chiefs, noblemen, *Vellalar*,¹³ owners of fields, *Vanigar*,¹⁴ merchants, all of whom were called *Uyarnḍor*¹⁵ or *Melōr*,¹⁶ the higher classes, and *Vinai-valor*,¹⁷ and *Aḍiyōr*,¹⁸ the working classes and personal servants.¹⁹ This second classification is solely based on the standing of people in society, and is one that has evolved everywhere in the world. On these two classifications, the Brāhmanas who carried the Arya cult into Southern India in the first millennium before the Christian era, imposed a third

¹பாலை. ²குறிஞ்சி. ³மூல்லை. ⁴மருதம். ⁵செய்தல். ⁶மறவர். ⁷குறவர்.
⁸ஆயர். ⁹உழவர். ¹⁰பரதவர். ¹¹மன்னர். ¹²வள்ளல். ¹³வெள்ளாளர்.
¹⁴வணிகர். ¹⁵உயர்ந்தோர். ¹⁶மேலோர். ¹⁷வினையவர். ¹⁸அடியோர்.

¹⁹Tolkāppiyam, *Poruḷadigāram*, i. 21-32.

one, the socio-religious division of the people into four Varnas. This division arose on account of the necessities of the Vedic fire-cult. This cult evolved into a vast system of rites which were celebrated during long periods of time, the Sattrā Yāgas occupying twelve to a hundred years, and required the growth of the Brāhmaṇa Varna, consisting of men who from childhood memorized the immense literature of the Vedas and subsidiary works, the Śruti and the Smṛti, and were trained in the correct performances of the complicated Arya rites and, being experts in the religio-magical ceremonies, acquired a high standing in society. Then there were the Kings of several grades, Chakravartī, Mahārāja, Rājā, who with their blood-relatives formed the Kshattriya Varna, and whose function it was to protect the people and the fire-rite from being oppressed by enemies. For the special benefit of the Kshattriyas, the more gorgeous fire-rites, such as Rājasūya, Abiṣheka, Vājapeya, Aśvamedha, etc., were evolved. The bulk of the people were the Vaiśyas (from *viś*, people) devoted to the ordinary pursuits of man—agriculture, trade and the tending of cattle. The Vaiśyas had the privilege of paying for and deriving the benefits accruing from the minor yāgas which the Brāhmaṇas performed on their behalf. The last Varna included the serving classes, called Śūdras. This fourfold classification is neither regional nor racial, neither social nor professional but one correlated entirely to the fire-rite. When the Brāhmaṇas settled in Southern India and the ancient Tamil Rajas desiring to secure the benefit of the Yāgas, accorded to the fire-priests a supreme position in society, the Brāhmaṇas naturally tried to introduce their socio-religious organization into Tamil society. But a religious oligarchy and a social democracy could not very well mix with each other. Hence the Brāhmaṇas did not succeed in arranging the people of Southern India as members of the four varṇas as they did in North India. The Rajas who actually ruled in the provinces of peninsular India were given the privileges of Kshattriyas with regard to the fire-rites—that of paying for them and deriving the invisible (*adṛṣṭa* or *apūrva*) effects of the Yajña and were even admitted to the Bhāradvāja Gotra; but the scheme of four varṇas necessary to a people, every detail of whose daily life, from urination to cremation, was influenced by the fire-rite, could not well spread among the Tamils, whose life for many millenniums previously was mainly secular and based on social democracy and among whom the Arya fire-rite, as it had lost its vitality before the Brāhmaṇas migrated to Southern India, did not spread. It only led to the confusion of caste and the prevalence of social jealousies that have characterized the life of South India for a thousand five-hundred years; for, we learn from the *Tevāram*,¹ of Tirunāvukkaraṣu Nāyanār,² that there was in his day, as there is to-day, a consciousness of rivalry, if not jealousy, between the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins or, as they were then called, *Ariyan*,³ and *Tamiḷan*.⁴ The cause of this was

¹ தேவாரம்.

² திருநாவுக்கரசுநாயனார்.

³ ஆரியன்.

⁴ தமிழன். ஆரியன் கண்டாய் தமிழன் கண்டாய்.

Tirumaraikkāḍu Tiruttāṇḍagam, 5.

செந்தமிழேரடி ஆரியனைச் சிறியானே.

Tiruvāḍaduduraḷ Tiruttāṇḍagam, 10.

ஆரியன் தமிழேரடினைவன்.

Tirukkāḍambanduraḷ Tirukkurundogai, 3.

as follows: The Brāhmanas obtained in India north of the ~~Vindhyas~~, i.e., Āryāvartta, a premier position in society on account of their being the hereditary depository of secular and religious lore, and of being expert in priestly duties and in wielding the words of power (mantras) which almost coerced the gods to grant gifts to those who solicited them. But the Kshattriyas who were quite as learned as the Brāhmanas and besides, had the prestige of the royal varṇa, and the Vaiśyas, who were rich burghers and wielded much political influence, acted as a check on the expansion of the privileges of the Brāhmanas. In South India, however, the Brāhmanas added to the intellectual qualifications they already possessed—scholarship in Tamil literature and ability to compose Tamil poetry.¹ Moreover, there was no true Kshattriya or Vaiśya Varṇa in South India. Though according to the *Bhagavad Gītā*² agriculture, tending cattle and commerce were the legitimate occupations of the Vaiśyas, the Brāhmanas did not extend the Vaiśya status to the Tamils that pursued these avocations in the *Mullai* and *Marudam* regions and did not admit them to the benefits of the fire-rite, even of the domestic variety, which was open to the three higher varṇas. On the contrary they invented for them pseudo-fire-rites, usually called Purāṇoktam ceremonies, as opposed to Vedōktam rites. An example of this is the addition of circum-ambulating the fire, *Tīvalaṇṇeydal*,³ to the ancient marriage ritual of the Tamils, to make it look like the genuine Ārya wedding-rite. At the same time the worship of Śiva and Viṣṇu in temples, which was evolved from pre-vedic forms of worship and is described in the Āgamas, whose vital characteristic is Bhakti, and not Jñāna such as the Vedānta Sūtras teach, spread in the Tamil land, because Bhakti which neglects the Varṇa classification appealed to the democratic instincts which got the upper hand after the decay of the fire-rite. Hence the Ārya classification of four varṇas never really spread in South India and Tolkāppiyar who laboured hard to equate the several classes of Tamil society to the varṇas of the Āryas carefully avoids the use of the word Śūdra as referring to any section of the Tamils. This brief sketch of the history of Ārya ideals in South India explains to a large extent the prevalence of the conflict of caste in the present time.

THE FIVE CLASSES : THEIR MODES OF LIFE AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICES

In my Stone Age in India has been given a very brief account of the life of the five classes of people in the five regions. A more extensive account will be given here. In the *Palai* lived the *Kallar*⁴ and the *Maṇavar*,⁵ nomad tribes of adventurous warriors ; as the soil of the region where they dwelt was infertile and totally unproductive, they lived by preying upon the wealth accumulated by the dwellers of other regions. They sacrificed animals and, at times, men too, to the dreaded local god or goddess ; these deities have been, in comparatively recent times, idealized and turned into aspects or subordinates

¹ As illustrations Kapilar, Paraṇar, and the Saint-child Tiruṇjāna Sambarda Nāyanār may be mentioned.

² *Bhagavad Gītā*, chapter xviii. 44. ³ தீவலாண்னேய்தல். ⁴ காலர். ⁵ மாணர்.

of the world-mother, *Kali*¹ or of her husband, *Sivan*.² Many of their sacrificial stones, called in early times *Kandalī*,³ have become the objects of worship in shrines which have grown around them. They also planted stones in memory of the heroism of their dead heroes exhibited in wars or on other occasions, and worshipped the stones.⁴

The clubs with which Stone Age men dealt death to their human and animal foes and the bill-hooks with which the later Iron Age men cut up those animals, as well as images of tools cut on stones are still in many shrines the only physical representatives of the gods they worshipped and can to-day be seen not only in *Palai* land but also in all other parts of the country. In later days there were migrations of men and cults from region to region; the various tribes coalesced with each other by marriage and other causes; hence the practices of *Palai* are now observable in the four other regions too.

Ancient worship was inseparably associated with ritual dance. The dance which constituted the worship of *Koravai*, the goddess of victory, is elaborately described in canto xii of *Silappadigaram*, called *Vēṭṭuvavari*.⁵ This description contains the later, much developed ritual, but from it one or two ancient factors of the ritual dance can be extracted: 'The priestess who uttered the oracles of *Koravai*,⁶ called *Śālīni*,⁷ was born in the family of *Maṇavar*, who bear in their arms a bow. In the high street in the middle of the village which was surrounded by a hedge of thorns and where the hunters ate their food jointly, she danced, being possessed by the goddess, the hair of her body standing on end. She lifted up her arms, and her feet kept time so well that the men wondered at the sight'.⁸ And she uttered

³கந்தி. This word literally means pillar, being a derivative of கந்த, post, and அழி, straw and therefore probably meant a pillar to which the sacrificial victim was bound with ropes of straw. In later times when nobler conceptions of the deity were reached கந்தி was explained as the supreme substance, the Being above all elements of matter.

⁴They were called கெற்கடவுள். *Puṇam* 263 refers to the worship of the memorial stone of a man who stayed a hill-torrent like a dam. Numerous odes celebrate the memorial stones of warriors who died in battle. *Puṇam* 264 says that the stone was decorated with garlands of red flowers and peacock feathers and the hero's name was engraved thereon.

மரவ்வகுந்து தொடுத்த செம்புக் கண்ணியெர்
டணிமயிற் பீலி குட்டிப் பெயர் பெரறித்
தினிசட்டனரே கல்வம்.

Agam 67 says that besides the above a board with a spear fixed on it was placed near and his other implements were also planted near the memorial.

சல்லமர்க் கடந்த நரனுடை மறவர்
பெயரும் பீடு மெழுதிய யதர்ந்தரதும்
பீலி குட்டிய பிறங்குயிலை நடுகல்
கேவலாந்து பலகை வேற்றுமுனை.

Excavations at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa reveal that writing was known in India five thousand years ago; hence it is not surprising to learn that the names and deeds of heroes were incised on stone in early days.

⁵கெட்டுவாரி

⁶கொற்றவை.

⁷சாலினி.

⁸வழங்குவிற் றடக்கை மறக்குடித் தாயத்துப்
பழங்கட னுற்ற முழங்குவாய்ச் சாலினி
தெய்வ முற்ற மெய்மயிற் றிறத்தக்
கையெடுத்தே தோர்சிக் கானவர் வியப்ப
விடுமென் வேலி பெயின்சுட்டி னென்னு
கவிஞர் மன்றத் துடிபெயர்ந்த நாடி.

warnings about the disasters that would overtake the villages for not having paid their dues to the goddess. In the mountainous country, called *Kurinjī* lived the *Kuṭavar*, famous in later literature as the heroes of romantic love at first sight; they led the semi-nomad life of the hunter; they hunted with the bow and the arrow and fought wild animals with the *Vel*.¹ They cut up and skinned the animals they hunted and wore the untanned hide as their dress. They were also brave warriors.

Their women in the earliest days were clad in nothing but the atmosphere around or in hides or in *Maravuri*,² tree-flay, or in leaf-garments, called in Tamil, *talai-udai*.³ Hence arose the custom of presenting a garment made of leaves and flowers to the bride as a symbol of marriage, as in Malabar to-day presenting a *Mundu*,⁴ short piece of cloth, to the bride is still the chief incident of the wedding-piece.⁵

These women wove baskets and made many other articles with the strips of the bamboo, occupations still followed by *Kuṭavar* throughout Southern India. Their favourite god was *Murugan*,⁶ the God of the Hills, who has throughout the ages remained essentially a god enshrined on hill-tops, notwithstanding later affiliations with post-Vedic mythology. As Lord of the Hills, the abode of serpents, he reveals himself even to-day to his devotees in the form of a serpent. The hill country being at all times the home of romantic love at first sight, he was, and continues to be to-day, the boy-lover, the *Seyon*,⁷

¹கேல்.²மரவரி.³தழைஉடை.⁴முண்டு.

⁵ The following are a few of the references to the practice of the presentation of a leaf-garment, *talai udai* in the early literature.

தீரீப் பெருங்குண்டு அணைப்பூத்த குவளைக்
கம்பலிற் முழுசெறி புரங்வுரு உல்குல்.

Puram. 116.

The lap from which is dangling the leaf-garment made of the whole blossom of the water-lily which grows in deep springs of sweet water with its sepals open.

அனிய தாமே நிறுவென் னாம்ப
லியை மரசத் தழையா யினவே
இனியே பெருவனக் கொழுநன் மாய்க்தெனப் பொழுதுமறத்
தின்னு லைக ளுண்ணு
மல்விப் படுஉம் புல்லா யினவே.

Ib. 248.

May it be blessed! the little, white water-lily, when I was young, served for a leaf-garment; now, when my excellent husband is dead, the hour of meals is changed, it provides me with my food during the melancholy mornings.

குன்றநாட
னுடுக்குத் தழைத்த தனனே யவைபா
முடிப்பின் யாயஞ் சதுமே கொடுப்பிற்
சேனடைக் கேடஞ் சதுமே.

Narripai. 359.

The hill-chief gave me a leaf-garment; if I wear it, I am afraid I cannot satisfactorily answer the questions my mother will ask me about it; if I return it to him I am afraid it will cause him pain.

சாரத்

தழையணி மருக்குள் மகளிர். *Kurundogai*.

The hill-women who wear a leaf-garment at their waist.
The wearers of this garment can still be seen in the hill-regions.

⁶முருகன்.⁷சேயோன்.

the ever-youthful. When in later ages asceticism came to be a much respected way of life, and ascetics resorted to hills for peaceful meditation, he also became the ascetic god. Coming down from ages when man had not yet invented clothes, he is in many of his manifestations a naked god. Worship of the gods was in ancient days inseparably associated with ritual dancing, as is still the case with primitive people all over the world; and the ancient worship of Murugan was the dance called *Veriyādal*¹ or *Vēlanādal*,² performed by his priest, who, like his god, was called, *Vēlan*,³ for both of them carried the weapon of the hill region, the *Vēl*, a spear, which in the stone age had a stone spear head and, on the discovery of iron, had a head made of that metal.⁴

The worship of Murugan included the offering of cooked rice and meat for the removal of ills caused by that god. 'O!' old *vēlan*, intoxicated with the spirit of Murugan! control the anger and help us. I beg one favour of you. If you offer along with many-coloured boiled rice the meat of a red sheep specially killed for the purpose, after marking her forehead (with its blood), will the god of the hill high as the sky who wears a garland eat the *bali* (and be pleased)?

In later times when religion in India developed noble concepts, attained giddy heights of supreme devotion and breathed the soul-satisfying atmosphere of philosophical insight, highly advanced associations

¹ வெறியாடல்.

முருகயந்த வந்த முதுவாய் வேலன்
நினைவ லோம்புமறி வினவுத துடையேன்
பல்வே நருவிற் சில்லவித் மடைகொடு
சொழி கொன்றிவ னை நுத னீவி
வணங்கினே கொடுத்தி யாயி னனங்கிய
விண்டோர் மாமலைச் செம்ப
ஞெண்டர சகலமு முன்னுமோ பவியே.

Kurundogai 362.

² வேலாடல்.

³ வேலன்

* This is a brief description of *Veriyādal* is from *Maduraikkāñji*. ll. 611-617.

அருங்கடி வேலன் முருகொடு வனைத்
யரிக்கடி டின்னியன் சுறங்ககேர் நிதத்தக
சார்மலர்க் குறிஞ்சி குழக கடம்பின்
செய்கு செடுவேட் பேணீத் தருஉப்பினே யூஉ
மன்றவதாறு நின்ற குரவை சேரிதொறு
முரையும் பாட்டு மார்டிம் விராடு
வேடுவேடு சும்பலை வெறிக்கொண்டி மயங்கி.

The terrible *Vēlan* proclaimed the might of Murugan and danced around the people; the sweet-sounding musical instruments sounded in unison; they wore the *Kāñji* (காஞ்சி) flower—*Lavsonia spinosa*—which blossoms in the rainy season, and fixing in their hearts the image of the *Vēl* (வேல்) the lord, who shines with the beautiful *Koḍambu* (கொட்டி) flower—*Eugenia racemosa*—embraced one another and caught hold of one another's hands and danced the *Kuruvai* (குரவை) dance on the open fields; all through the village they hymned his greatness, they sang songs in his honour, they danced many dances and the blending of these sounds caused confusion.

The *Vēlan* proclaiming the might of Murugan refers to an ancient ceremony. When a man is in distress he consults the priest of Murugan, who throws about the seeds of the *Kalaṅgu* (கலங்கு) or *Kalarkodi* (கலர்கோடி) *Gulandina bonduce*, and from the lay of the seeds on a plate reads the occult cause of the man's trouble and prescribes the worship of Murugan as a remedy. This ceremony is technically called *Kalaṅgu*.

were woven round this and other gods, of very ancient times, but yet numerous relics of South Indian religious life of ten thousand years ago are inextricably bound up with the worship of these gods to-day and these indicate the simple, ancient concepts and beliefs and customs of the Tamils of those far off days.

In the wooded tracts called *Mullai*, lived the *Idaiyar*, the men of the middle region, that lies between the uplands and the plains below. They were also called *Ayar* and *Kōnār*,¹ literally cowboys. They led a merry pastoral life tending cattle and playing on the flute, *kuṭal*, made of the bamboo, or of the stem of the water-lily, or of the cassia fruit or of the creeper jasmine. Besides playing on the flute, they spent their ample leisure in love-making in the forests which afforded ample cover for their amatory proceedings. The god of the *mullai* region was *māyōn*,² the dark-hued wonder-working *kaṇṇan*.³ Their old women sprinkled the paddy from a *nāḷi*,⁴ tubular corn-measure, along with sweet-smelling *mullai* flowers so that the bees swarmed round and sounded like the *pāl* and then bowed to their god.⁵ Accompanied by children and relatives the crows ate the white balls of cooked rice along with fried *karunai*,⁶ tuber which has dark eyes offered to the God.⁷

The worship of *māyōn* was also associated with innumerable religious dances, which can be observed to-day in cowherd villages when the annual festival in honour of this deity is celebrated. These dances were called *kuṭam*⁸ or *māyōnāḍal*.⁹ In Vedic times, Kṛṣṇa, the Sanskrit form of the name Kaṇṇan, was a god or as the Rīg-veda called him a demon, opposed to Indra. In the Purāṇas, too, there are evidences of an ancient Kṛṣṇa cult opposed to the Indracult of the early Rishis.¹⁰ In still later times Kaṇṇan became Kṛṣṇa Paramātma, the fullest human manifestation (*Avatāra*) of Śvara to the Indian people and has everywhere extinguished the worship of Indra. The legends regarding the boyhood life of Kṛṣṇa have certainly come down from the ancient pastoral stage of human evolution, though not then localized in the forest of Brindāvanam. The bulk of cowherds to-day act out many of these legends and keep up the ancient pastoral dances of Kṛṣṇa worship, but are absolutely untouched by the grand philosophical ideas which have gathered round the personality of Kṛṣṇa. I therefore hold that that the ancient god of the pastoral tribes evolved into Kṛṣṇa and not that Kṛṣṇa of the *Bhagavad Gita* deteriorated into a pastoral god in recent times.

The current theory about Kṛṣṇa-worship is that the historical

¹கோளுர். ²மாயேன். ³கண்ணன். ⁴நாழி.

⁵பாழிசை மனைவன் டாசப்பட்டு நல்லெரடு

நாழி கொண்ட நழுவீ முல்லை

யருப்பவி முலரி கூடியகரை நரமுறு

பெருமுறு ப்பண்டிச்.

Mullaippaṭṭu 8-11.

⁶கருரை.

⁷ பின்னை தழிஇக் கினை பயிச்சுறு

கருங்கட கருரைச் செக்கொல்வன் கோர

குருடைப் பவி.

Nayirai 367.

⁸குடம்.

⁹மாரோளூல்.

¹⁰This subject is fully discussed in my *Life in Ancient India*, pp. 131-2 and *Stone Age in India*, pp. 50-51.

person of that name, whose boyhood was spent in the pastoral country round Brindāvanam and who, later, as the king of Dvārakā, played a great part in the war of the Mahābhārata, was deified and after his death, the Kṛṣṇa cult spread throughout India. In opposition to this theory I hold that the cult of Kṛṣṇa, the boy-cowherd, comes down from the early pastoral stage of Indian life; it is impossible to believe that the later worship of Kṛṣṇa, associated with the study of his *Bhagavad Gītā*, than which no grander philosophic work has been published to the world, spread to only one caste of South India—the cowherd caste—and became a cult of primitive ritual song and dance. It is much more reasonable to conclude that the primitive song and dance and merry-making which is the Kṛṣṇa-worship of the cowherds is directly descended from the rites of very ancient pastoral times. The name *Kannan* is supposed to be derived from Prākṛit *Kanḥa*, itself a degenerate form of Kṛṣṇa. This kind of etymology is opposed to the fundamental principles of linguistic science, for it makes the absurd assumption that the literary dialect of a language precedes the common spoken dialect, whereas the spoken dialect must have existed for thousands of years before the literary dialect was developed.

To proceed from *Mullai* to *Marudam*; in the lowermost reaches of the rivers lived the farmers, of whom there were two classes, (1) the *Vellālar*,¹ the controllers of the flood, who irrigated their fields when the rivers were in flood, and raised the rice-crop on damp rice-fields with the extraordinary patience and industry which only the Indian peasant is capable of; (2) the *Kārālar*,² controllers of the rain, who looked up to the sky for watering their fields, who stored the rain water in tanks and ponds and dug wells and lifted the water by means of water-lifts of different kinds, *eṇṇam*,³ *kabilai*,⁴ *pīḷa*,⁵ *iḍa*,⁶ and raised the millets, the pulses and other legumes, which along with the rice of the river valleys and the milk and the milk products (tyre and butter-milk and ghi, *tayir*,⁷ *mōr*,⁸ and *ney*⁹) of the *Mullai* region, form, even according to the latest scientific teaching, a perfect food for man containing the muscle-building, heat-generating, and vitamine requisites of a perfect dietary. The *Vellālar* lived in the *Marudam* region, the river-valleys and just outside it lived the *Kārālar*. Beyond these regions where foodstuffs were raised, existed the black cotton-soil developed from the detritus of trap-rock charged with decaying vegetation, and fit for retaining moisture for a long time, and hence suited for the growth of cotton. Here cotton was raised and cotton cloth was woven; Indian people of the Stone Age possessed an abundance of cotton cloth, as weaving implements of stone testify, when the rest of the world was either sparsely clad in hides, or woven linen or wool, or revelled in primitive nakedness. Hundreds of finds of Neolithic tools required for these industries of the lower river valleys testify to their great development in these regions. These industries of the plains required the subsidiary one of woodwork. The people lived in wood-built houses; their granaries were made of wood; they used wooden carts, not different in build from the creaking ones now used for transport and numerous household utensils made of wood like tubs, mortars, pestles, etc.; and all the tools now used by the

¹வெள்ளர். ²காரர். ³எண்ணம். ⁴கபிலை. ⁵பிழை. ⁶இடை. ⁷தயிர். ⁸மேய். ⁹நெய்.

village carpenter, but made *or* stone, as well as tools for stone-work, have been picked up from neolithic settlements. The chief god of the low country was the cloud-compelling lord of the atmosphere, who, as Indra, became also the chief recipient of the offerings made in the Vedic fire-sacrifices throughout North India; but in South India Indiran was the god only of the ploughland. Besides he was worshipped by the people with the fireless rites detested by the Āryas. Here 'he was the God residing in the land where, with toddy and garlands as offerings, the straight-horned and hanging eared goat is led to him'.¹ In Āryan India Indra was but the most prominent of the many gods worshipped by Brāhmana priests, for their own benefit and the benefit of others, by means of fire-rites in sacrificial halls specially built for the purpose, Rājas and Vaiśyas having but the privilege of paying for the rites without officiating at them; but in South India Indiran was the sole god of the *Marudam* region and his worship was conducted without fire-rites and in it participated men of all castes and occupations, even men of the lower classes who would not be admitted even for menial service in *yajña śālās* and women of all ranks. Indra worship in South India was accompanied by merry-making and love-making of all kinds. Moreover the festival of Indiran was specially associated with lovers' quarrels and reconciliations, *ūḍal*² and *kūḍal*³ and with special varieties of dancing. The modern Pongal feast is a relic of the harvest-festival associated with Indiran, as the name *bōgi paṇḍigai*,⁴ Indiran-feast shows,⁵ bōgi being a name of Indiran.

So great is the prejudice in favour of the North Indian origin of everything connected with religion that to claim the Indiran of *Marudam* as a Tamil God independent of the Indra of the Āryas is sure to raise as violent a burst of opposition as Indra's own burst of the thunder-cloud. To support the claim here made I offer the following considerations: (1) The people of the *marudam* regions of South India must have had an atmospheric god from about the end of the old Stone Age when they learnt to till the ground and sow seeds for raising foodstuffs, for their existence depended on such a god manifesting himself in the hot weather and striking the clouds with his thunderbolt so as to pour the life-giving rain on their thirsty fields. (2) To deny them an Indiran of their own would be to say that they had from time immemorial another god of the same functions till about 2,000 years ago, when they borrowed the name of the chief God of the Ārya fire-rite, and that, after that fire-rite had almost become extinguished in Āryāvartta and after Indra had been superseded in popular estimation by Siva, Viṣṇu, and Ambā. One is tempted to vary the joke about the author of the *Iliad*, that it was not composed by Homer but by another poet of the same name, and say that

¹ கங்குல் கண்ணியுறையுறையாக
நிலத்தோடு செவ்வை நரல்செவிக் கடராயி
நிலத்துறைக் கடவுள். *Agam*, 156.

² உடல்.

³ கடல்.

⁴ போடிபண்டிகை.

⁵ The utter difference between Indra-worship in North India and the இந்திர விழவு of South India can be realized by a study of canto v of *Silappadigāram* இந்திர விழவு ரெடுத்த சரதை, which is too long to be quoted here.

the Stone Age Tamils did not worship Indiran but another God of the same name and the same functions. The theory becomes more absurd if, with European scholars, it is held that Indra the God *par excellence* of the monsoon area was at first the God of the non-monsoon tracts outside India, that he was then taken into Northern India by Aryan emigrants and lastly, after a few thousand years' stay there, he leisurely migrated to the *marudam* region of Tamil India, where he was being worshipped by the people for many thousand years, previously by some name unknown, which name was suddenly extirpated without a trace by the newly imported name. (3) The South Indian Indiran-cult was in every one of its details and practices utterly different from the Vedic Indra-cult as pointed out above. (4) If South India borrowed Indiran from the Āryas, there is no reason why he should have his jurisdiction suddenly contracted and why he should be confined to the *marudam* region and should not have extended to all regions as it did in India north of the Vindhya. On the contrary when the Arya concepts spread in South India along with the migration of Brāhmaṇas to the south of the Vindhya, the functions of the Aryan Indra were added on to the Indiran of the Tamils, who was thenceafter called *Vēdan*,¹ King of the Gods. It is more reasonable to consider that the Indiran of the *marudam* became also the King of the Gods after the contact of the Tamils with the Āryas than that the extent of his empire was diminished by his invasion of South India. (5) If South India borrowed Indiran from North India, there is no conceivable reason why the ploughmen alone should borrow the God and not the people of other regions, such as *neydal* and *mullai*. (6) The South Indian worship of Indiran was not conducted by an expert caste as in North India. It is inconceivable that as soon as the Brāhmaṇas brought the Indra-cult to South India, they resigned their priestly functions with regard to this deity and his worship became a popular institution in which all castes and both sexes could take part. The Brāhmaṇa-rites and the old Tamil rites have not become mixed up though Brāhmaṇas have wielded supreme religious power in South India for 2,000 years, and though the two have co-existed for 2,000 years. Is it not then absurd to hold that at one moment in the past Indra-rites of North India became inextricably blended with Tamil rites. (7) The worship in each of the five regions consisted primarily in ritual dancing, peculiar to each region. This was accompanied by the singing of tunes, *paṇ*, special to each tract. There was also a special form of *yāḷ* for each natural region on which the tunes of that regions were played. In such worship all people, whatever their status, took part, whereas in northern India, even during the performance of royal *yajñas*, such as *Rajasūyam*, Kings could not enter the *yajña śālā* except on one solitary occasion when they were temporarily invested with the rank of a Brāhmaṇa and allowed to make one *ahuti*, offering, in the fire nearest to the gate of the sacrificial hall. How the worship in which the Brāhmaṇa oligarchy alone could officiate could suddenly become a democratic institution it is impossible to conceive. (8) Convincing etymologies of the names of the Gods Krishna, Indra, and Varuṇa

from Sanskrit roots have not been found by scholars notwithstanding three thousand years of unexampled ingenuity. Hence there is no linguistic reason to claim that these names originally belonged to the Sanskrit language. (9) The possibility of North India borrowing names of objects and even of Gods from South India has not been investigated at all. There was plenty of intercourse between the people North and South of the Vindhyas in the remote ages. Therefore there is nothing to disprove the notion that the same Gods were worshipped throughout India even before the fire-cult rose to great popularity five thousand years ago. Hence the most probable conclusion is that when the Rishis moulded the Vedic cult they utilized the pre-existing gods and adapted them to their philosophical concepts. Such is what has taken place all over the world in the evolution of religion. Moreover it is only in recent times that the idea rose that Sanskrit, being a perfect language, could not have borrowed names from any other language. The ancient thinkers had no such illusion. *Mīmāṃsā Sūtras* I. iii. 9, says, *chodītam tu pratiyeta avirodhāt pramāṇena*. This implies that words borrowed from the *mlechchha* languages and used in the Veda ought to be understood in the sense they have in those *mlechchha* languages and not to be ascribed new meanings based on the *nirukta* or etymological speculations. Śābara gives as illustrations of such borrowing *tāmara*, lotus, *pika*, cuckoo, both Tamil words. I offer the suggestion that many more words were borrowed by Sanskrit from Tamil. Not as a proved conclusion, but merely to challenge enquiry I suggest that the word, so essential to later Sanskrit philosophy, *Māyā*, was coined from a Tamil root-word.

Māyā is a word which occurs in the Vedic *mantras*; there it does not possess the meaning of *Mūlaprakṛiti*, chaotic matter, that which is not *sat*, nor *asat*. In the *mantras* it merely means the wonder-working power exhibited by Indra and other gods. Gradually *Māyā* came to be specially associated with Viṣṇu; in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, Kṛiṣṇa, the incarnate Viṣṇu, speaks of *mama māyā duratyayā*, 'my *Māyā* difficult to transcend.' So *Māyā* came to mean the power, the magic might wielded by the Supreme Viṣṇu in creating, and sustaining the universe and this is still the meaning of *Māyā* in Vaishṇava tradition. In the Śaiva schools *Māyā* became the wife of Śiva, the mighty mother of the universe, being Īśvara's power embodied in manifested matter. In the Advaita schools, she became identified with *Prakṛiti*, matter, which is a reality to embodied beings and vanishes without leaving a trace behind before the vision of him who has seen the light of Ātmā. Hence Advaitis explain it by the jingle *yā mā sā māyā*, who is not, she is *māyā*; this ingenious and impossible derivation could have been invented only, after that incomparable philosopher, Śaṅkarāchārya, definitely and finally connected the word with that which exists as a phenomenon but does not exist as a noumenon. The older meaning of the word, from which this meaning has arisen, was wonder, astonishment, power of magic, cannot be derived from any Sanskrit root; but Tamil possesses a root that exactly suits the word and that is *māy*,¹ to be astonished, to vanish from sight. I am sure

that on a careful study conducted according to the fundamental principles of modern etymological science, many Sanskrit words will be found to be borrowed from those of the languages which prevailed in India in the early Iron Age. At any rate the idea that the gods who were worshipped before the rise to popularity of the Ārya cult were borrowed and ennobled and idealized by the Rishis is not quite so absurd as people imagine.

Now Indra has become extinct in the *marudam* region. Ever since the worship of Siva and Viṣṇu rose to mighty proportions from the sixth century A.D. onwards, under the inspiration of the singers of the Śaiva *Tevāram* and Vaiṣṇava *Pirabandam*, Indra disappeared. His place of popularity in the minds of the common people, especially of the river-valleys, has been usurped by a non-vedic God, who has no Tamil name but whose worship is most wide-spread in the Tamil country, viz., *Gaṇeśa* or *Viṣṇvaksēna*, the generalissimo and the remover of difficulties. How this came about I cannot at all explain. I can only note in passing that while Indra was a constant rider on elephants, Gaṇeśa combines in his person human and elephantine features.

From *marudam* I shall now turn to *Neydal*, the littoral region. Here were evolved the occupations of fishing, salt-scraping, salt-manufacture, and the selling of salt, of fresh fish and salted fish; they made canoes, dug-outs and wicker work boats; the *Paradavar* men sailed on the sea, at first hugging the coast, and, later, boldly struck across the black sea, *Karuṅṅadal*,¹ and reached far off countries where they exchanged the cotton cloth and timber of South India for scented gums, sugar and other products of foreign lands. Their God was Varuṇa, another deity also invoked in the Ārya rites; but the worship of Varuṇa by the *Valaiṇār*,² the men who plied the net, the lowest of the low, was of course very different from the fire-worship of the same deity. 'It is the new moon and the red-haired *Paradavar*³ men have not gone along to fish in the broad, black, cold sea; with their dark-skinned women clad in green-leaf garments, in the midst of their huts, which were built on the sea-beach whose sands smell of fish and which had low roofs on which were placed the long angling rods, on the sands of the front yard on which the nets were spread like a patch of darkness on a moon lit-floor, they planted the horn of the gravid sword-fish and invoked on it their God. They wore (round their neck) garlands made of the cool flowers of the white *Kūdālam** (a kind of *Solanum*), which grows at the foot of the *Tālai*⁵ (screw-pine), and (on their heads) the flowers of the *tālai*, which has long petals; they drank the toddy from the palmyra which has a rough skin, and also the liquor brewed from rice, and danced. In the noisy part of *Pugār*,⁶ where appearing like a red cloud on a black hill, and like a (red-haired) child at the mother's (black) breast, the Kāviri mixes with the clear and dark waters of the ocean-wave, they bathed to get rid of their sins, and, then, bathed in the river to get rid of the salt on their skins; they hunted for crabs and played in the spreading waves; they made

¹ கருங்கடல்.² வலைஞர்.³ பரவார்.⁴ கூதாலை.⁵ தாலை.⁶ புகாரி.

images; they were intoxicated with the pleasures enjoyed through many senses and played with undiminished joy throughout the day.¹

After reading this description of Varuṇa-worship it would be foolhardy to derive it from the Vedic Yajña, in which Varuṇa, Indra and Mitra were invoked.

KINGS

The institution of kingship was an ancient one among the Tamils, for several old words exist which mean a king: e.g., *Kon*,² *Endal*,³ *Vendan*,⁴ *Mannan*,⁵ *Kuriṣil*,⁶ *Iraivan*;⁷ besides, the words *Vallal*,⁸ and *Annal*,⁹ restricted in later usage to nobles or petty chiefs, rulers of small territories, *Kuṇṇilamannar*,¹⁰ but applied to kings also. The government of a people by a king was called *Aṭchi*,¹¹ an abstract noun from the verb *Āl*,¹² to rule over, from the noun *Āl*,¹³ a subject, originally a person. Government was conceived as being similar to a herdsman ruling a herd, helping it to feed and protecting it from enemies. The name *Endal*,¹⁴ (and *Vendan*,¹⁵ which perhaps is etymologically the same word) is derived from *Endu*,¹⁶ to support, and refers to the chief function of a king, that of protecting his subjects from harm. But the oldest Tamil word for a king is *Ko*,¹⁷ or *Kon*,¹⁸ which also means a cowherd. This implies that kingship arose first in the pastoral stage of the evolution of human life. It is in this stage that men began to acquire wealth, cattle, *paṣu*,¹⁹ *pecu*, being the earliest form of wealth that man could acquire. Pastoral life required that a tribe should settle with its wealth of cattle on a patch of grass-land. Unlike other forms of wealth, cattle and sheep constantly reproduce their kind, and herds always grow in size. The sons of a herdsman may partition the herd belonging to the family among themselves, but the pasture-land cannot thus be partitioned,

1கெடுத் தூண்டிலிற் காழ்சேத்திய
குறக்கரைக் குடகார்ப்ப
ணிலவடைந்த விருள்பேல
வலையுணக்கு மணல்முன்றில்
வீழ்ததாழைத் தாட்டாழ்த்த
வேன்கட தானத்தத் தன்பூக் கோதை
தெனச்செவின் கோடுகட்டு
மனைச்சேத்திய வல்லனைக்கொண
மடற்றுழை மவுர்மலைத் தம்
பிணர்ப்பெண்ணைப் பிழிமரத்திபுள்
புன்றலை யிறும்பதவச்
பைத்தழைமா மகனீரோடு
பாயிரும் பனிக்கடல் வேட்டஞ் செல்ல
துவவுமடித் துண்டாடியும்
புலவுமணற் பூங்காணன்
யாமலை யனைத்த கொன்றும் பேரலவுக்
தாய்முலை தருவிப் குழவி பேரலவுக்
தேறலீர்ப் புணரியோ டுயரநிலை மனைக்கு
மலியோதத் தொலிகடற்
நிறுதீங்கக் கடலாடியு
மாகபோகப் புனல்படித்து
மலவ னுட்டியு முரவுத்திரை புழக்கியும்
பாலை குழக்கும் பல்பொறி மருண்டு
மலரைக் கரதலொடு பகல்வினையாடி.

Paṭṭinappālvi, 80, 104.

²கோன்.

³ஏந்தல்.

⁴வேத்தன்.

⁵மன்னன்.

⁶குரீதில்.

⁷இறைவன்

⁸வள்ளல்.

⁹ஆண்ணல்.

¹⁰குறநிலமன்னன்.

¹¹ஆட்சி.

¹²ஆல்.

¹³உள்.

¹⁴ஏந்தல்.

¹⁵வேத்தன்.

¹⁶உதல்.

¹⁷கோ.

¹⁸கோன்.

¹⁹பசு.

for, where a small holding of a rice-field may well be cultivated by its owner and arable land may continue to be sub-divided into little plots for generations, pasture-land cannot thus be subdivided, for grass-fields below a minimum size are unfit for pasturing a herd. Hence the joint-family system became a necessity. The patriarch of a tribe thus acquired great influence and became its king. Hence the word *Kō*, cowherd, came to be applied to a king when kingship evolved.

The house where the king resided was the *Kōttai*.¹ As the royal power increased, as the science of warfare developed, the royal residence, *Kōttai*, became a fort. The fort was surrounded by strong walls, *aran*;² hence the fort was called *aranmunai*;³ *aran*⁴ originally meant both beauty and defence, and hence came to be applied to the walls of a fortress, also called *madil*.⁵ These walls were made of mud, mixed with boiled ragi flour and were so strong and elastic that they could resist battering very much better than inelastic brick or stone walls. In the Tinnevely district there exists even to-day many a *madil* made after the ancient recipe, which are very difficult to pull down. The fort was surrounded by an *agal*,⁶ *agappā*,⁷ or *agali*,⁸ a moat, (from *ag*⁹, to dig, whence the following Tamil words are derived, *Agam*¹⁰ home, inside, mind, the inner life, love, etc., *Agakkāl*,¹¹ heart-wood, *agadu*,¹² inside, *agan*,¹³ interior, heart-wood, also a rice-field dug out of the soil, *agappu*,¹⁴ depth, *agalam*,¹⁵ breadth, *agal*,¹⁶ a bowl, *agavai*,¹⁷ internal quality, *agal*,¹⁸ to dig), *agappai*,¹⁹ a ladle scooped out. The *agal* was also called *udu*,²⁰ *ōdai*,²¹ *kayam*,²² *kēni*,²³ *parigam*,²⁴ *parigai*,²⁵ *purisai*,²⁶ and *pāmburi*,²⁷ (that which surrounds a fort as closely as the skin round a snake). The wealth of names for the moat shows that it was a very familiar object to the ancient Tamils. The entrance to the fort was called *Kōtti*²⁸ and the batter, i.e., receding slope from the ground upwards behind a wall, topped by a flat platform, *Kōttalam*.²⁹ *Nāvil*³⁰ is the name of another part of a fortification: what it means is not known clearly. Within the royal residence there were many rooms, each called *arai*,³¹ (from *aru*,³² to cut off), a portion of the house walled off from other portions for special purposes. One of these rooms was the store-room, *Kōttarai*,³³ or *Kōttadi*,³⁴ (whence perhaps was derived the Sanskrit word *Koshṭa*). The state-room was the *Koluvurai*³⁵ or *Koluchchāvudi*,³⁶ where the king sat in state on occasions of ceremonial. This was called *koluvirutal*,³⁷ or *Vīṇiruttal*.³⁸ The *Koluchchāvudi* was no doubt decorated with flags³⁹ (*koḍi*,⁴⁰ *tugil*,⁴¹ *togai*,⁴² *śatti*,⁴³ *kattigai*,⁴⁴ *kadali*,⁴⁵ on these occasions, as well as with flowers and bunting, flowers and leaves playing a large part in South Indian life as will be shown later. On such formal occasions, the king wore a crown. As the crown was called *muḍi*,⁴⁶ band, we may be sure that it was a band

¹கோட்டை. Another early word for a palace was *Kōvil*, (கோவில்) which, after the rise of the grand modern temples, became restricted to Gods' houses.

2 அரண். 3 அரண்மனை. 4 அரண். 5 மதில். 6 அகல். 7 அகம்பர. 8 அகழி. 9 அக. 10 அகம். 11 அகக்கரம். 12 அகல். 13 அகப்ப. 14 அகலம். 15 அகல். 16 அகவை. 17 அகல். 18 அகல். 19 அக. 20 உடு. 21 ஓடை. 22 கயம். 23 கேனி. 24 பரிசை. 25 பரிசை. 26 புரிசை. 27 பாம்புரி. 28 கொட்டை. 29 கொட்டை. 30 நாவில். 31 அறை. 32 அறு. 33 கொட்டை. 34 கொட்டை. 35 கொலுவரை. 36 கொலுச்சாவி. 37 கொலுவிரத்தல். 38 கொலுவிரத்தல். 39 கொலுவிரத்தல். 40 கொலுவிரத்தல். 41 கொலுவிரத்தல். 42 கொலுவிரத்தல். 43 கொலுவிரத்தல். 44 கொலுவிரத்தல். 45 கொலுவிரத்தல். 46 முடி.

of gold tied around the forehead, like the gold bands found at Ādichchana¹¹ūr. Indian crowns of recent ages were tall conical caps of solid gold, in bedded with gems such as now adorn gods when going out on processions; these are so heavy that gods alone can wear them for any length of time, and could not have been worn by the ancient Tamil kings, all the more so as kings, like all other men of the ancient Tamil country, grew a whole head of hair. Shaving was unknown in South India and was introduced by the Āryas; this is proved by the fact that there is no proper, ancient Tamil name for the barber, and there are only words derived from the Sanskrit, like *pariyāri*,¹ *ambaññan*,² *nāvidan*,³ *maṅgali*⁴ or descriptive compounds like *mayirvinaiyālan*⁵ (hair-dresser), *māsutirppōn*,⁶ (one who puts an end to a hairy check). Moreover, throughout the interior of South India, people who have not taken to Aryan or European customs do not even now patronize barbers.

Wearing a crown and gold bracelets round the wrist, above the elbow and the ankles, (*Kaḷal*)⁷ furnished with tinkling bells, (*śadāṅgai*),⁸ garlands of pearls, *muttu*,⁹ coral, *paṇaḷam*,¹⁰ and rings, *Kanaiyāli*,¹¹ the king, during darbar, *Kolu*,¹² was seated on a throne; this was called *Kaṭṭil*,¹³ and, as this name implies, was a construction of boards tied together to form a seat. Pillows, *arianai*,¹⁴ supported his back. Surrounded by his personal servants, *adiyār*,¹⁵ *ūliyar*,¹⁶ by heralds who proclaimed his greatness, *agavar*,¹⁷ and by *vaḷḷuvar*,¹⁸ publishers of royal orders, and *pānar*,¹⁹ poets who sang the praises of the king, with nobles, *vaḷḷal*,²⁰ *annal*,²¹ seated in front of him, and the common people, *āṭkal*,²² standing respectfully at a distance, the king heard complaints, dispensed justice and conducted state affairs of all kinds. The king often went out on processions, seated in a chariot, *tēr*.²³ Other names for it were *ari*,²⁴ *kavari*,²⁵ *kuyavu*,²⁶ *kūviram*,²⁷ *tigiri*,²⁸ *vaiyam*.²⁹ The royal charriot was certainly well-decorated with wood carving, for this art was practised from lithic times: the conical top of a chariot, carved to look like a lotus was called *kūmbu*,³⁰ *kūviram*,³¹ *koḍiñji*.³² The middle of a chariot was called *taṭṭu*,³³ or *nāppan*; ³⁴ its floor, *pār*,³⁵ the boards around its body, *kiḍugu*,³⁶ its spoke, *ār*; ³⁷ the raised platform with steps near the car, from the top of which it is possible to step into the car, *muṭṭi*,³⁸ or *pirambu*.³⁹ The existence of so many names shows what an important institution the royal car was, as the temple car is now, for all the appurtenances of temple-idols are but adaptations of royal paraphernalia. The only difference between the royal car and the temple car is that the latter is drawn by human beings who desire to participate in the virtue of dragging it, but the former was drawn by bulls (*kālai*,⁴⁰ *erudu*,⁴¹ *vidai*,⁴² *irāl*,⁴³ *ēru*,⁴⁴ *kundai*,⁴⁵ *kūli*,⁴⁶ *koṭṭiyam*,⁴⁷ *kō*,⁴⁸ *chē*,⁴⁹ *paḡaḍu*,⁵⁰ *pāṇḍil*,⁵¹ *pāral*,⁵² *pullam*,⁵³ *pūñi*,⁵⁴ *peṇṇam*,⁵⁵ *pōttu*,⁵⁶ *mūri*),⁵⁷ or by the elephant (*yānai*,⁵⁸ *kaḷiṇu*)⁵⁹. There are

- | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------|------------|-------------------|
| 1 பரியாரி. | 2 அம்பட்டன். | 3 சரவிதன். | 4 மங்கலி. | 5 மயிர்வினையாளன். |
| 6 மாசுதீர்ப்போன். | 7 கழல். | 8 சாங்கை. | 9 முத்த. | 10 பவழம். |
| 11 கணையாலி. | 12 கருவ. | 13 கட்டி. | 14 அரியணை. | 15 அடியார். |
| 16 உலியார். | 17 அகவர். | 18 வஞ்சகர். | 19 பாணர். | 20 வள்ளல். |
| 21 அண்ணல். | 22 ஆட்கர். | 23 தேர். | 24 அரி. | 25 கவர். |
| 26 குயவு. | 27 கூலி. | 28 திணி. | 29 கையம். | 30 கம்பு. |
| 31 கவிர். | 32 கட்டி. | 33 கரப்பன். | 34 பார். | 35 பிம்பு. |
| 36 கிடுகு. | 37 கட்டி. | 38 கிடுகு. | 39 கிடுகு. | 40 கிடுகு. |
| 41 கிடுகு. | 42 கிடுகு. | 43 கிடுகு. | 44 கிடுகு. | 45 கிடுகு. |
| 46 கிடுகு. | 47 கிடுகு. | 48 கிடுகு. | 49 கிடுகு. | 50 கிடுகு. |
| 51 கிடுகு. | 52 கிடுகு. | 53 கிடுகு. | 54 கிடுகு. | 55 கிடுகு. |
| 56 கிடுகு. | 57 கிடுகு. | 58 கிடுகு. | 59 கிடுகு. | |

about twenty¹ other names for this favourite animal, belonging to Tamil alone, besides several others for the male animal and several more for the female. The cars were decorated with flags and trappings, (*iērchchilai*).²

The royal revenue, besides the proceeds from the royal lands, were derived from taxes (*vari*),³ tolls, (*suṅgam*,⁴ *uḷgu*,⁵ *iṟai*),⁶ and tributes (*kappam*,⁷ *pariṣu*,⁸ *tiṟai*).⁹

LOVE

The chief royal occupations or amusements (for in the case of kings, it is difficult to distinguish amusements from occupations) were love and war, both of which formed the subject of innumerable odes sung by the early bards. Love and war were respectively called *agam*¹⁰ and *puṟam*,¹¹ the inner life which one cannot share with other men and the outer life of action which other men can appreciate and admire. The love of kings and other men was of two kinds. (1) Love at first sight, so impetuous as to lead to immediate consummation, called *kaḷavu*,¹² to be leisurely legitimized by a formal marriage, (*maṇam*,¹³ *maṇal*,¹⁴ *varaivu*,¹⁵ *veṭtal*)¹⁶. (2) Post-nuptial love, called *kaṟpu*.¹⁷ The course of love, pre-nuptial or post-nuptial, furnished the bards with innumerable incidents fit for poetic treatment and this is the subject of three chapters of the grammar of poetry, called *Poruḷadigāram*,¹⁸ of *Tolkāppiyam*, viz., *Agattinaiyiyal*,¹⁹ (referring to both),²⁰ *Kaḷaviyal*,²¹ *Kaṟpiyal*.²² The chief incidents of the course of both forms of love, viz., the first catastrophical meeting of the lovers called *iyaṟkaippuṇarchchi*,²³ their waiting in expectation of meeting each other, *iruttal*,²⁴ lamentations for temporary separation *iraṅgal*,²⁵ brief and long quarrels and reconciliations, *pulavi*,²⁶ *ūdal*²⁷ and *kūdal*,²⁸ and the parting of lovers, *piridal*,²⁹ were respectively correlated to the five natural regions, *Kuṟiṇji*, *Mullai*, *Neydal*, *Marudam* and *Pālai*. The fact that Tamil literary conventions arose absolutely independent of the literary conventions of the Vedic and other early Sanskrit literature, shows that the correlations of the incidents of love with natural regions, peculiar to Tamil poetry, were based on actual customs which prevailed among the Tamil people in the third millennium B.C., and earlier. We can understand how these customs, i.e., social conventions, on which the literary conventions were based, first arose. The romantic scenery of Kuṟiṇji land is the greatest stimulus of love and the opportunities it affords for immediate consummation fans the flame of impetuosity which is the special characteristic of Kuṟiṇji love. Pre-nuptial love must have been the norm in the mountainous region, and the life of the hunter. In the Mullai region, the herdsman-lover had to be separated all day long from the mistress of his heart and hence the waiting of lovers for each other was associated with this region. In the Neydal, the woman has to sit desolate for days together, when her lover has gone on a voyage attended with risks to

¹Such as அறகு, ஆம்பல், இம்மடி, உம்பல், உலா, எறம்பு, ஒருத்தல், ஐங்கல், கடிவை, கர்வன், கறையடி, கைப்புலி, கைம்மல், கைம்மா, கோட்டிமா, சுண்டாலி, குதை, திண்டி, தும்பி, தூங்கல், தென்னி, தோல், கால்வாய், தூழில், பகடு, புகர்முகம், புறக்கை, புட்டை, பெருமா, பெரங்கடி, மருண்மா, மறவல், மொய், வயமா, வல்லியல், வருவை, வேழம். ²தேச்சிலை. ³வரி. ⁴சங்கம். ⁵உலகு. ⁶இறை. ⁷கப்பம். ⁸பரிசு. ⁹திறை. ¹⁰அகம். ¹¹புறம். ¹²சங்கம். ¹³உணர். ¹⁴மன்றல். ¹⁵வரைவு. ¹⁶வேட்டல். ¹⁷தற்பு. ¹⁸பொருளதிகாரம். ¹⁹அகத்தினையியல். ²⁰புறத்தினையியல். ²¹கனவியல். ²²தற்பியல். ²³பிரிந்தகையுணர்ச்சி. ²⁴இருத்தல். ²⁵இரங்கல். ²⁶புலவி. ²⁷உடல். ²⁸கூடல். ²⁹பிரிதல்.

far off lands, and hence Neydal symbolizes the lamentations of lovers. So Pālai, the ō-sert region, where the lovers have necessarily to part company, aptly symbolizes the separation of lovers. In Marudam, people led a settled agricultural and industrial life and they could enjoy longer periods of lazy leisure than the people of other regions. Hence the formal Tamil marriage-rite was evolved in Marudam.

MARRIAGE

The ancient wedding-rite is described in the following two odes from *Agam*. 'There was a huge heap of rice cooked with pulse (even after many guests were fed). On the floor of a pandal built on long rows of wooden columns was spread freshly brought sand. House-lamps were lighted. Flower-garlands were hanging. It was the morning of the day of the bright bent (crescent) moon, when the stars shed no evil influence. Then women bearing pots on the head, others carrying new broad begging bowls handed them over one after another, fair elderly dames making much noise the while. Then four women, mothers of sons, with their pudenda marked with natural beauty-spots, wearing beautiful ornaments, poured water on the bride, so that her black hair shone bright with cool petals of flowers and rice-grains (which had been mixed with the water) and at the same time blessed her, saying, 'Do not swerve from the path of chastity, be serviceable in various ways to your husband who loves you'. On the night of the day after that of the celebration of the marriage, the neighbouring ladies assembled and said to the bride, 'Become the mistress of a great house', and she went in trepidation to the bed-room dressed in new clothes.'¹

'Having boiled the rice free from all impurities and mixed *ghi* with it, they served it to the elders. The auspicious birds flew in the bright, beautiful, broad sky. The asterism Rohini was in conjunction with the moon. They decorated the house which was free from dirt, and worshipped God. The big drum sounded, the marriage-volley was beaten. The women who desired to witness the marriage assembled in haste. The flower-eyed goddesses witnessed the marriage and disappeared. They strung on white thread the double leaf of the *agatti* which has soft flowers, many blades of the *arugai*-grass which

¹ உழுத்துதலைப் பெய்த கொழுங்கனி மிதவை
பெருஞ்சோற் றமலை கிற்ப நிகாகாரற்
றன்பெரும் பக்தர்த் தருமணன் னெழிமி
மனைவினக் குறத்து மாலு தெடரிக
கணையிடு னகன்ற கவின்பெறு காலைக்
கோங்கு ளீங்கிய கொடுவெண் டிக்கட்
கேடில் விழுப்புசற் றாலு வந்தென
வுஞ்சி குடத்தர்ப் புத்தகன் மண்டையர்
பொதுசெய் கம்பலை முதுசெய் பெண்டிர்
முன்னவும் பின்னவு முறைமுறை தரத்தர்ப்
புதல்வற் பயந்த திதலையல் வயிற்று
வாலிமை மகனிர் சால்வர் கூடிக்
கற்பினிள் வழாவு கற்பல வுதலிப்
பெற்றோர் பெட்கும் பிணைய யாகென
கொடு சொரிந்த வீதித் துலரி
பல்லிசூல் கதப்பி னெல்லொடு தயங்க
வதுவை சன்மணன் கழிந்த பிணைநக்
கல்லென் கம்மையர் குரோரெனப் புருத்த
பேரிற் கிழத்தி யாகெனத் தமர்தர
வொரிற் கூடிய வுடன்புணர் கங்குற்
கொடும்புறம் விரைகி கோடிக் கலிக்கத்
தொட்கென்க.

the calf eats, and the young flowers of the blue water-lily which are like clean gems when the sounding rain-drops fall from the sky and adorned the bride with these garlands. Underneath a pandal strewn with sand which was cool as if rain had fallen on it, the relatives of the bride gave her away.¹ In the ancient marriage-rite there was no circum-ambulation of fire, *travalam seydal*,² which Brāhmaṇa purohitas of later ages invented in imitation of the wedding-rite of the higher varnas and introduced into the marriage-ritual of the Tamils.

In the agricultural region, there also arose *kūṭṭiyar*³ and *viṇaiyar*,⁴ dancing-women and singing women, who were ladies of easy virtue and lived the life of *hetairae*, the *parattaiyar*,⁵ who brought to a premature end the course of wedded love. Hence *uḍal* and *kudal*, estrangement and reunion between husband and wife, was correlated to Marudam.

Besides these five incidents of normal love, there also existed, among the ancient Tamils, two forms of abnormal love, viz., *Kaikkilai*,⁶ love of a man for an immature girl incapable of feeling the gentle passion, and *Perundinai*,⁷ love of a man for a woman who does not reciprocate his love; in such a case, the man maddened with passion, made a horse of the sharp-edged stem of the palmyra, provided it with wheels and rode through the streets, bleeding, till the lady relented, or committed suicide if she did not, a proceeding technically called *Maḷalerudai*!⁸; these are also described in many odes.

They make, of the stem of a palmyra leaf, a horse which does not require fodder, and attach to it reins adorned with small bells; the hero, wearing a garland of the short flowers 'of the *erukku*,⁹ *calotropis gigantea*, mounts it. We drag the horse along the streets and boys gather behind and follow the procession.'¹⁰

'Wearing a garland in which the fresh flowers of the *avirai*,¹¹ *cassia auriculata*, which resemble gold in colour, are strung on many threads,

மேம்புறப் புழுக்கி செங்கனி வெண்சேறு
வரைய வண்மையொடு புனையோர்ப் பேணிப்
புஞ்சூப் புணர்ந்திவிய வாகத் தென்னொலி
யங்க னிருவிசம்பு விளங்கத் திங்கட்
சுடம் வேண்டிய தகைச் சுட்டத்தக்
கடிகைப் புணர்து கடவுட பேணிப்
படுமண முழவொடு பருமப்பிண யிறிழ
வதுவை மண்ணிய மகனிச் விதப்புறப்
பூக்கணு மிமையார் கோக்குபு மறைய
மென்பு வாகைப் புன்புறக் கவட்டலை
பழக்கந்து கறிக்கும் பயம்பம லதனைத்
தழற்குரால் வானின் நிலபெயற் றீன்ற
மண்ணுமணி யன்ன மாயிதழ்ப் பாவைத்
தண்ணற முகையொடு வெண்ணூல் சூட்டித்
துவுடைப் பொலிந்து மேவாத் துவன்றி
மழைபட் டன்ன மணல்வலி பந்த
ரிழையணி சிறப்பிற் பெயர்வியர்ப் பார்த்தித்
தமர்கமக் கீர்த தலைகாள்.

Agam 136.

மாமுது பார்ப்பான் மறையறி கட்டிடத்
தீவலஞ் செய்வது.

Silappadigāram i.

¹கூத்தியர். ⁴விநாயர். ⁵பாத்தையர். ⁶கைகிலை. ⁷பெருத்திணை. ⁸மடலேறதல். ⁹எருக்கி.

¹⁰சிறுமணி தொடர்க்கு பெருக்கக் கிறிது
குறுகுடி மெருக்கக் கண்ணி குடி
புண்ணு கன்மரப் பண்ணி பெய்முடன்
மதகுடன் திரிதருஞ் சிறுது மரக்கல்

Nayirmai 220.

¹¹ஆவிரை.

he rides the horse made of (the stem of the leaf of) the palmyra, shame torturing his mind.'¹

'Should I one day wearing a garland of gems on my breast and decorated with bones, go along the streets, without shame and ridiculed by others?'²

These seven *tinai*s constitute the *Agattiṇai*, the class of poems celebrating love.

WAR

The other subject of ancient poetry was war. The wars of ancient Tamil kings were not inspired by earth-hunger, for we find, throughout the ages, the boundaries of the Śera, Śōḷa, and Pāṇḍya kingdoms were intact. Wars were undertaken either as affording exercise for the development of martial virtues or for the purpose of achieving, by personal prowess, supremacy in rank and the title of the liege lord of the Tamil country and for the privilege of wearing the triple crown, *Mummuḍi*.³ Wars were undertaken in the season which followed the harvest, when the king and the subjects had no more agricultural work to do before the next rainfall. Warlike operations were divided into five, namely, *veṭchi*,⁴ *vaṇṇi*,⁵ *uḷṇai*,⁶ *tumbai*,⁷ *vāgai*,⁸ respectively corresponding to *kuṇṇi*, *mullai*, *marudam*, *neydal* and *pālai*. It will be noticed that all these ten are the names of flowers and each flower symbolizes the incident which is named after it. Each of these incidents, called *tinai*,⁹ subdivided into *turai*,¹⁰ were celebrated by people wearing garlands of flowers appropriate to it. Thus we find that the Tamils noted and named hundreds of flowers and dedicated each of them with their leaves and twigs to some separate life-situation, which they celebrated by decorating their persons with garlands of those leaves and flowers, by singing measures and dancing dances specially appropriate to each of them. The passion the Tamils had for wearing garlands, symbolic or otherwise, is further indicated by the fact that there are several words meaning garland, *kanni*,¹¹ *tār*,¹² *toḍaiyal*,¹³ *alaṅgal*,¹⁴ *kōḍai*,¹⁵ *teriyal*.¹⁶ This ancient love of flowers is

¹பெண்ணே ராவிரைப் புதுமலர் மிடைத்த
பன்னூன் மாலைப் பண்படு கவிமாப்
பூன்மணி சுந்தக் வேறி காண்டப்
பழிபட ருண்ணேய் வழிவழி நிறப்ப
Kuṇṇudogai 173.

²விழுந்தலைப் பெண்ணை வினையன் மாமடன்
மணியணி பெருத்தார் மாப்பிற் பூட்டி
வெள்ளென் பணிக்குறி நென்னத் தோன்றி
யொருகாண் மருங்கிற் பெருகாணித்தித்
தெருவினியலவுத் தருவது கொல்லோர்
16. 182.

⁴வெட்டி. ⁵வஞ்சி. ⁶துவழிமை. ⁷தும்பை. ⁸வாகை. ⁹திணை.
¹⁰துறை. ¹¹கண்ணி. ¹²தாள். ¹³தொடையல். ¹⁴அலங்கல். ¹⁵கோதை. ¹⁶தெரியல்.
There are sixteen other names for garlands, which shows what great love the Tamils have for personal decoration with flowers. This is further indicated by the fact that garlands had differentiated names; thus, a garland for the face was *ilaṁbagam*,¹ *śūttu*,² for the hair-knot, *karōḍigai*,³ a garland where the flowers were tied together, *śigaligai*,⁴ *toḍaiyal*,⁵ *mālai*,⁶ *vāṣigai*,⁷ a plaited garland, *pīṇaiyal*; ⁸ a strung garland, *kōṇai*,⁹ *pādalaḷai*,¹⁰ *vāṣigai*.¹¹

¹இலங்கம். ²சூட்டு. ³கரோடிமை. ⁴சிகழிமை. ⁵தொடையல். ⁶மாலை. ⁷வாகை.
⁸பிணையல். ⁹கோவை. ¹⁰படலை. ¹¹வாசிகை.

being slowly choked out, especially in towns, by the pressure of the drab civilization of Europe, which is robbing us of many simple joys coming down from ancient times, when the love of flowers was so strong as to lead the Tamils to adopt flowers and leaves even as the distinctive uniforms of soldiers. In the battle-fields, the soldiers of each of the three great Tamil dynasties of kings could be distinguished from each other only by the garlands they wore. Thus the Pāṇḍya soldiers were decorated with the leaves and flowers of the *Vembu*,¹ Margosa, the Śōla soldiers, with those of the *Ātti*² or *Ār*³, *Bauhinea racemosa*, and the Śera soldiers, of the *Panai*,⁴ the palmyra. The early literature, and especially the *Tolkappiyam*, contains frequent references to the symbolic use of leaves and flowers, and these prove that the ancient Tamils led a happy life of constant merry-making unoppressed by a too pessimistic view of the world and of man's destiny and that they were inspired by a love of nature superior in strength to that of other peoples, ancient or modern.

Of the five subdivisions of *Puṇam*, *Vēṭchi*, the first, refers to the preliminary lifting of the enemy's cattle, and confining them in a pen in one's own country, which was the ancient method of the declaration of war. This proves that kingship, like formal war, began in the pastoral stage of life. As large herds of cattle are kept in the hilly region, *Vēṭchi*, corresponds to *Kuṛinji*. *Vaṇji* corresponds to *Mullai*; it deals with the expedition into the enemy's country, which has necessarily to pass through the wooded country surrounding the lower river valleys, where forts were built for storing in safety the accumulated agricultural and metallic wealth.

Uṭṭinai has for its subject the siege of the forts, and especially the capital, of the enemy king, situated in the heart of the *Marudam* region. *Tumbai* refers to the fierce fighting which succeeds the mastery of the fort-walls, and *Vāgai*, the final victory. As *Agattinai* has on the whole seven subdivisions, so two more have been added to *Puṇattinai*, viz., *Kāñji*,⁵ which generally deals with the transitoriness of earthly pleasures in general and the vanity of military glory in particular, the first touch of asceticism which was destined to overwhelm Indian life from the middle of the first millenium before Christ, and *Paḍan*,⁶ the last of the *Puṇattinai*, which contains poems praising the munificence of kings and nobles towards the poets who sought their patronage.

As it was love of display of prowess and of glory that drove the ancient Tamils to war, there is no doubt that fighting was an annual institution, undertaken in the season between the gathering of the harvest and the starting of the tillage for the next year. War was called *por*,⁷ *śandai*,⁸ *seru*,⁹ *muraṇ*,¹⁰ *tevu*,¹¹ and by about twenty other words.¹² This wealth of words meaning war indicates that it was a favourite amusement with the ancient Tamils, amusement because the object of ancient war, like that of wrestling, *marpor*,¹³ which was thus a variety of *por*, was not for satisfying the lust for bloodshed, but for proving strength and skill. The field of battle was called *kalam*,¹⁴

¹வேம்பு. ²ஆத்தி. ³ஆர். ⁴பனை. ⁵காஞ்சி. ⁶படன. ⁷போர். ⁸சண்டை. ⁹செரு. ¹⁰முரண். ¹¹தெவு. ¹²அம்ர்; ஆர்ப்பு, இகல், உறம்பு, கணையம், கதனம், கலி, குரம்பு, கூட்டம், சமர், குரப்பு, தச்சு, திறல், துத்தை, சிதம், சிசுப்பு, பண்டனம், மலைப்பு, மலை. ¹³மற்போர். ¹⁴களம்.

kalari,¹ *parandalai*,² *mudunilam*,³ these words also indicate waste uncultivated land, on which contests of all kinds took place and show that war did not imply the ruination of crop-bearing land. The army, *padai*,⁴ *tānai*,⁵ was divided into various groups, *ani*,⁶ *undai*,⁷ *oṭṭu*,⁸ the front ranks were *ākkam*,⁹ *koṭṭipadai*,¹⁰ *tār*,¹¹ *tūṣi*,¹² *nirai*,¹³ and the back ranks, *kūlai*.¹⁴ This shows that military science was not unknown to the Tamils.¹⁵ In later times the army was divided into four sections, chariot-warriors, elephant-warriors, horse-warriors, and foot-soldiers. Of these all but the horse-arm came down from ancient times. South India was not the home of the horse and has always imported horses from the valley of the Sindhu, from Persia and other countries. But there is no doubt that the elephant was used from early times both for royal ostentation and military purposes. 'The warrior sits on an elephant, which looked like the god of death (*maṛali*). He has a broad and high breast, covered with a coat made of the tiger's skin, which the volley of arrows cannot pierce. The elephant resembles the ship that passes on the sea, the moon which moves among the stars; it is surrounded by armed *maṇavar* like sharks, and is so excited as not to recognize its mahout.'¹⁶ The elephants were skilfully trained and carefully looked after by the *pāgan*,¹⁷ tied to posts, *kandu*,¹⁸ *taṇi*,¹⁹ in the *alai*,²⁰ elephant-house, and fed with palmyrah trunks, rice and jaggery; they were bathed in tanks or rivers, their face painted with vermilion and decorated and armoured with face-plates, *oḍai*,²¹ *suḷi*.²² Chariots heavily decorated with wood-carving, in the profusion of which Indians revelled, and brilliantly coloured, *śāyam tōyṭṭa*,²³ trap-pings in various patterns and elephant warriors and foot-soldiers decked with garlands of the leaves and flowers which were the badge of each royal house, formed the serried ranks assembled on the battle-field. Of the implements of war, some came down unaltered from the Stone Age, such as the club, *taḍi*,²⁴ *eyul*,²⁵ *tanḍu*,²⁶ the shorter one being *kuṇil*,²⁷ the bow, *vil*,²⁸ *kokkarai*,²⁹ *silui*,³⁰ *taḍi*,³¹ *tavar*,³² *muni*,³³ besides the compound noun *koḍumaram*, bent-wood. Other implements were made of stone at first, and iron was substituted for stone in the early Iron Age: such as the sword, *vāl*,³⁴ *uvani*,³⁵ *ēdi*,³⁶ *kaḍuttalai*,³⁷ *tuvaṭṭi*,³⁸ *navir*,³⁹ *nāttam*,⁴⁰ *vaṇṇam*,⁴¹ *vaḷ*,⁴² short swords being called *kuṟumbidi*,⁴³ *surigai*,⁴⁴ *katti*,⁴⁵ and bent ones

௧. கடல். 9 ஆகக். 2 பறந்தலை. 3 முதுவிலம். 4 படை. 5 தா. 6 அனி. 7 உடை. 8 ஓட்டு. 9 அக்கம். 10 கொட்டிப்படை. 11 தார். 12 தூசி. 13 நிரை.

¹⁵Murugan, the Tamil war-god, who was assimilated by the northerners with the non-Vedic god Subrahmanya, also called Shanmukha, Kārtikeya, is said to have invented different forms of military formations and written a treatise on the subject in Sanskrit.

¹⁶புவிநீர்த் தவசம் பூம்பொறி சிதைவ
வெய்களை இழித்த பகட்டுடையின் மாப்பின்
மறவி ஈன்னை சயிற் று மிசையோனை
கவிநே முன்னர் வழங்கு காவரப் பேரலவும்
பன்மீ குப்பப் டிக்கன் பேரலவுஞ்
சுறவீனத் தன்ன வாரோர் மையப்ப
போரையதகுமைக்குப் பட்டிநே.

Puran 13

17 பாகன். 19 தறி. 23 தாயம். 24 தடி. 25 தாழ். 26 தண்டி. 27 குண்டி. 28 தில். 29 தவர. 30 முட்டி. 31 தடி. 32 தவர. 33 முட்டி. 34 குந்தலை. 35 குவந்தி. 36 கவிநி. 37 குந்தலை. 38 குவந்தி. 39 கவிநி. 40 கட்டி. 41 கட்டி. 42 கட்டி. 43 கட்டி. 44 கட்டி. 45 கட்டி.

kōṇam,¹ the spear, *iṭṭi*,² *iṭṭi*,³ *kalukkadaḥ*,⁴ *kaḷumul*,⁵ the lance and the javelin, *vel*,⁶ the implement of Murugan, *ṇyil*,⁷ *aranam*,⁸ *ehkam*,⁹ [from *ehku*,¹⁰ (1) sharp, (2) steel], *kundam*,¹¹ *nāṅgar*,¹² the shorter ones being *udambidi*,¹³ *viṭṭeru*,¹⁴ etc.; the trident, *kaḷu*,¹⁵ *kaḷ*,¹⁶ the battle-axe *maḷu*,¹⁷ *kaṇichchi*,¹⁸ *kundāli*,¹⁹ *kulir*,²⁰ *taṇṇam*; ²¹ the arrow, *ambū*,²² *kaṇai*,²³ *kadiram*,²⁴ (allied to *kadir*,²⁵ ray, spike), *ko*,²⁶ *kōl*,²⁷ *toḍai*,²⁸ *tōṇi*,²⁹ *pagali*,³⁰ *paḷḷam*,³¹ *puḍai*,³² *vaṇḍu*,³³ *vāḷi*; ³⁴ the arrow being one of the earliest implements used by the Tamils in fighting with animals and men, has so many names; so too the string of the bow. *nōṇ*,³⁵ *nāṇi*,³⁶ *pūram*,³⁷ *āvam*,³⁸ *toḍai*,³⁹ *nāri*,⁴⁰ *narambu*,⁴¹ *pūṭṭu*,⁴² the particular point where the arrow was placed being called *udu*.⁴³ The defensive weapons were the shield, *kēḍagam*,⁴⁴ *kiḍugu*,⁴⁵ *kaḍagam*,⁴⁶ *taṭṭu*,⁴⁷ *parisai*,⁴⁸ *paḷagai*,⁴⁹ *mayai*,⁵⁰ *vaṭṭaṇam*,⁵¹ *vaṭṭam*; ⁵² those made of hide were distinguished as *tōl*,⁵³ *toṇṇaram*,⁵⁴ and of cane as *taṇḍai*,⁵⁵ *vāḷi*.⁵⁶ A coat of armour was *mēḷagam*,⁵⁷ *araṇi*,⁵⁸ *āṣu*,⁵⁹ *kandaḷam*,⁶⁰ gauntlets for protecting the hands, being called *kaippuḍai*.⁶¹

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Drums and other musical instruments were used in warfare to inspire men and elephants (and later, horses) with martial enthusiasm. Musical instruments generally were called *iyam*,⁶² *vāṭṭiyam*,⁶³ *vāchchiyam*,⁶⁴ *isaikkaruvi*,⁶⁵ *isai*,⁶⁶ being the general term for music. Musical instruments were divided into four kinds, *toṇkaruvi*,⁶⁷ those covered with leather, *tuḷaikkaruvi*,⁶⁸ those provided with holes, *narambukkaruvi*,⁶⁹ stringed instruments, and *miḍaṇṇukkaruvi*,⁷⁰ throat-instruments. Seven names of notes belonging to Tamil are *kural*,⁷¹ *tuttam*,⁷² *kaikkilai*,⁷³ *ulai*,⁷⁴ *ilī*,⁷⁵ *viḷari*,⁷⁶ and *tāram*,⁷⁷ said to be produced respectively in the throat, the tongue, the palate, the head, the forehead, the pharynx, and the nose. Perhaps these are the seven notes of the scale. The chief wind-instrument was the *kulal*,⁷⁸ the flute, of which there were many kinds, *paṇai*,⁷⁹ made of the bamboo, *āmbal*,⁸⁰ of reed, *koṇṇai*,⁸¹ of the fruit of the Cassia perforated and *mullai*, of the creeper *Jasminum trichotomum* twisted to serve as a flute. There were also different forms of the trumpet, *tārai*,⁸² *kāḷam*,⁸³ *kākaḷam*,⁸⁴ *ammiyam*,⁸⁵ *sinnam*,⁸⁶ the cornet or horn, *kombu*,⁸⁷ *koḍu*,⁸⁸ *iralai*,⁸⁹ *vayir*.⁹⁰

The chief stringed instrument was the *yāl*.⁹¹ There were many varieties of it, one for each of the five regions. The number of strings in the *yāl* varied from four to seven, sixteen, seventeen, twenty-one.

A *yāl* was composed of various parts: 'its *pattal*'⁹² (probably sounding-board) had its edges depressed and its middle raised, like the

- 1 கோணம். 2 ஸட்டி. 3 இட்டி. 4 கருக்கடை. 5 கருமுள். 6 வேல். 7 எயில். 8 அரணம். 9 எஃகம். 10 ஏகி. 11 குந்தம். 12 குளக்கர். 13 உடம்பிடி. 14 யிட்டை. 15 கழு. 16 காழ். 17 மழு. 18 கணிச்சி. 19 குந்தாணி. 20 குளிர். 21 தண்ணம். 22 ஆம்பு. 23 துளை. 24 கதிர். 25 கதிர். 26 கோர். 27 கோல். 28 தொடை. 29 தொணி. 30 பகழி. 31 பள்ளம். 32 புடை. 33 வண்டு. 34 வாரி. 35 நாண். 36 நாணி. 37 பூரம். 38 ஆவம். 39 தொடை. 40 ரி. 41 கரம்பு. 42 பூட்டு. 43 உடு. 44 கோடம். 45 ... 46 தட்டி. 47 பரிசை. 48 பலகை. 49 மறை. 50 வட்டம். 51 வட்டம். 52 வட்டம். 53 தோல். 54 தோற்பரம். 55 தண்டை. 56 வல்லி. 57 மேழை. 58 அரணி. 59 ஆசு. 60 கந்தம். 61 கைப்புடை. 62 இயம். 63 வாதியம். 64 வாச்சியம். 65 இசைக்கருவி. 66 இசை. 67 தொற்கருவி. 68 துளக்கருவி. 69 நரம்புக்கருவி. 70 மிடற்க்கருவி. 71 குரல். 72 குந்தம். 73 கைக்கிளை. 74 உலை. 75 இலி. 76 விளரி. 77 தாரம். 78 குழல். 79 பனை. 80 ஆம்பல். 81 கொன்றை. 82 தாரை. 83 காளம். 84 காசனம். 85 அம்மியம். 86 இன்னம். 87 கொம்பு. 88 கோடு. 89 இரலை. 90 வயிர். 91 யாழ். 92 பத்தல்.

impression on the earth of an antelope's foot ; this was covered by a skin of the colour of a flame and it was stitched in the middle and the stitches resembled the row of thin hair on the belly of a fair girl in the early stages of pregnancy ; the skin was fixed to the wood by means of nails which looked like the eyes of the crab which lives in a mountain-cave ; its mouth without a palate was of the shape of the moon on the eighth day after the new moon ; its beam was like a serpent with its head upraised ; its straps were like bracelets on the forearm of a black woman ; its strings were taut and, struck by fingers looking like husked *tinai*, resounded.¹¹

In another poem it is described as having a *tol*,² hide of the colour of the core of the *padiri*,³ the trumpet flower, *Bignonia. Chelonoides*, a *tulai*,⁴ a hole with two eyes like the bud of the *kamugu*,⁵ areca-palm, a green *porvai*,⁶ looking homogeneous as if made of melted metal, a *vay*,⁷ mouth dark like a dried up spring, a *kadai*,⁸ extremity of the shape of the crescent, a *tivavu*,⁹ bands with strips of leather, moving like the bangles at the wrists of a lady, a *maruppu*,¹⁰ or *tandu*,¹¹ trunk, dark like sapphire, and *narambu*,¹² strings, as if of gold.¹³

The drum, *parai*,¹⁴ *murasu*,¹⁵ *perigai*,¹⁶ *aguvai*,¹⁷ *ellari*,¹⁸ *salligai*,¹⁹ *sallari*,²⁰ *kinai*,²¹ was also of various kinds and differed from region to region and also according to the purposes for which it was used. *Tadari*,²² or *udukkai*,²³ was a small double drum shaped like a sand-glass and carried by minstrels, *panar*.²⁴ The *tattai*,²⁵ or *karadigai*,²⁶ uttered a sound like the grunt of a bear. 'Pure Tamil' names of various tunes, *pan*,²⁷ viz., *palai*,²⁸ *kuṟiṇji*,²⁹ *marudam*,³⁰ *sevvali*,³¹ occur ; moreover the names of a few rāgams now sung are old Tamil names, but nothing definite about old Tamil music can be ascertained unless ancient books like the *Isainunukkam*,³² of the *Idaichchangam*,³³ the *Sirriṣai*,³⁴ and the *Periṣai*,³⁵ of the *Kadaichchangam*,³⁶ are discovered.

The arms, offensive and defensive, and the drums, referred to above, were also used in hunting, *veṭṭai*,³⁷ *agēdagam*,³⁸ *pabatti*.³⁹ which was another favourite occupation of kings and nobles. The professional shikari had numerous names, *āviiyar*,⁴⁰ *kūnavar*,⁴¹ *kuṟavar*,⁴²

குளம்புவழி யன்ன கவடுபடு பத்தல்
விளக்கழ லுளவின் விழிபுற பச்சை
யெய்யா விளக்குற செய்யோ எவ்வயிற்
நைதமவி ரோடுகிய தோற்றம் போலப்
பொல்லம் பொத்திய பொதிபுற பேர்தன்
யனைவரு மவன் கண்கண் டன்ன
துவையப் துர்த்த துரப்பமை யானி
யென்னுட் டிக்கள் வடிவிற ருதி
யண்ண வில்லா வமைவரு வதுவாய்ப்
பாம்பணத் தன்ன லோங்கிரு மருப்பின்
மாயோன் றுண்கை யாய்தொடி கடுக்குல்
கண்கு டிருக்கைத் திணவணித் திவவி
னாய்தினை யரிசி யவைய வன்ன
னையவை போக்கிய வீரலுள் ளகம்பிற்
கேள்வி பேசுகிய சீள்விதித் தெரடையல்.

Porunarāyruṇṇadai, 4-18.

- 2தோல், 3பாதி, 4குறு, 5கருகு, 6பாலை, வாய், 7கடை, 8திவவு, 10மருப்பு,
11தண்டு, 12கம்பு, 13*Perumbānāyruṇṇadai*, 4-16. 14பறை, 15ருசு, 16பேரிகை,
17எல்லரி, 18சல்லிகை, 19சல்லரி, 20இணை, 22தடாரி, 2 உடுக்கை, 24பாணர்
--ஆகுளி, 26காடிகை, 27பண், 28பாலை, 29, 30மருதம், 31செவ்வழி,
33இடைச்சங்கம், 34திநிற், 35பேரிகை, 36கடைச்சங்கம், 37வேட்டை
ஆகேடகம், 39பாபத்தி, 40ஆவியர், 41காணவர், 42குறுவ.

kunṇavar,¹ *kūliyar*,² *kolaiṇar*,³ *ṣavarar*,⁴ *ṣilavar*,⁵ *ṣillar*,⁶ *tiyar*,⁷ *pullar*,⁸ *pulaiṇar*,⁹ *maṇavar*,¹⁰ *marudar*,¹¹ *veḍar*,¹² showing how widespread that profession was. They were also employed as policemen, armed with the bow and the sharp arrow.¹³

TOWNS AND VILLAGES : HOUSES

Round the *Kōttai* where the king resided, grew the *pēttai*,¹⁴ (from *pē*,¹⁵ vulgar, whence is derived *pēdai*,¹⁶ common people, the poor, *pēy*,¹⁷ the wild plant, also goblin). Naturally the followers of each trade gravitated towards each other and each principal profession was confined to a single *pēttai*; there were thus many suburbs around a town, separated from each other. These *pēttais* were each surrounded by rice-fields or gardens. There are many words to indicate a house, such as *viḍu*,¹⁸ *agam*,¹⁹ *il*,²⁰ *illam*,²¹ *ṣerbu*,²² *pātti*,²³ *manai*,²⁴ *vayin*,²⁵ besides the compound words *uraiyū*,²⁶ and *pukkil*.²⁷ The houses of richer men were called *mādam*,²⁸ (whence perhaps *mādi*,²⁹ upper story) or *māligai*,³⁰ from the root *māl*,³¹ great. They were built almost entirely of timber up to about twelve centuries ago. The following words relating to parts of a house may be noted : *iṇappu*,³² *irai*,³³ *valavu*,³⁴ *talvāram*,³⁵ sloping roof ; *muniḷ*,³⁶ *muṇṇam*,³⁷ courtyard, inside or outside a house ; the compound word *nilāmuṇṇam*,³⁸ a flat roof on which one can walk up and down ; *uttiram*,³⁹ *tūlam*,⁴⁰ beam *suṇṇuvāri*,⁴¹ *tal*,⁴² *tuḍai*,⁴³ *mugaḍu*,⁴⁴ *viḍaṅgam*,⁴⁵ beam projecting beyond a wall. In front of the houses was the *tiṇṇai*,⁴⁶ a raised and covered platform, which served the purposes of a drawing-room and bed-room for the day and even for the night. Before the *tiṇṇai*, was the *kuradu*,⁴⁷ open platform, flanked by the *oṭṭuttiṇṇai*.⁴⁸ The walls, the *tiṇṇai* and the floor of the house were no doubt polished like a mirror or black-marble, the cement being compounded of clay, charcoal and cattle-dung, *maṇ*,⁴⁹ *kari*,⁵⁰ and *ṣāṇi*,⁵¹ and applied to the surface wet and rubbed over for hours with a bit of flattened quartz, an art which is fast dying out. The entrance to the house was not flush with street, as there was a *vūyilpaḍi*,⁵² door-step. It was provided with a wooden frame work, *nilai*,⁵³ and a door, *kadavu*,⁵⁴ also called *araṇam*,⁵⁵ *aravam*,⁵⁶ *kāppu*,⁵⁷ *toṭṭi*,⁵⁸ *pudavu*,⁵⁹ *vāri*,⁶⁰ secured by a wooden bolt and heavily carved outside, as they are even to-day in houses not ruined by modern civilization. The houses were provided with windows, *ṣālarām*,⁶¹ *ṣannal*,⁶² *palagaṇi*,⁶³ being, as the name implied, a many-eyed lattice window. Behind the door ran a narrow passage, *idaikaḷi*,⁶⁴ or *naḍai*,⁶⁵ which led into the house. The houses were provided with

1 குன்றவர். 2 கூலியர். 3 கொலைஞர். 4 சவரர். 5 சிலவர். 6 சிலார். 7 தியர்.
8 புல்லர். 9 புலைஞர். 10 மணவர். 11 மரடார். 12 வேடர்.
13 குட்கல் அம்பின் கொடுவில கூலியர்.

Malaiapaḍukaḍam, 422.

14 பேட்டை. 15 பே. 16 பேதை. 17 பேய். 18 வீடு. 19 அகம். 20 இல். 21 இல்லம். 22 சேப்படி.
23 பாத்தி. 24 மனை. 25 வயின். 26 உதையன். 27 புககில். The houses of Brāhmanas were given the Sanskrit name of *Aharam* (ஆகாரம்) and the street where they lived *akkirāharam* (அக்கிரகாரம்).

28 மாடம். 29 மாடி. 30 மாளிகை. 31 மாள். 32 இறப்பு. 33 இறை. 34 வலவு. 35 தாழ்வாரம்.
36 முன்றல். 37 முற்றம். 38 நிலாமுற்றம். 39 உத்திரம். 40 தூவம். 41 தந்தவாசி. 42 தாழ்.
43 தி. 44 முகை. 45 விடக்கம். 46 திண்ணை. 47 குற்றம். 48 ஒட்டுத்திண்ணை. 49 மண்.
50 தாணி. 51 காய்க்காய். 52 திவல். 53 தாணி. 54 அரணம். 55 அரவம். 56 அரவம். 57 தாப்படி.
58 தாப்படி. 59 தாப்படி. 60 தாணி. 61 தாணி. 62 தாணி. 63 தாணி. 64 இடைக்கழி. 65 தாணி.

drains, *śakkadni*,¹ or *śālagam*,² as were the houses of Mohenjo-daro, recently unearthed. The spout of the drain was *tūmbu*,³ *puḷai*,⁴ *śurungu*.⁵ The inside walls were provided with niches, *purai*,⁶ in which were placed, among other things, the lamps to light the house by night. These lamps were little bowls of stone or earthenware, or metal, *agal*,⁷ *tagali*,⁸ *tagali*,⁹ *iḍinḷil*,¹⁰ *pāṇḍil*,¹¹ in which castor oil or other oils were burnt with a cotton wick.¹² Behind the house was another *kuṛadu*,¹³ which was a lumber room. Behind this the house-well, *kinaru*,¹⁴ *aṣumbu*,¹⁵ *uṛavi*,¹⁶ *kuḷi*,¹⁷ *kūval*,¹⁸ *kūdam*,¹⁹ *turavu*,²⁰ *keṇi*.²¹ *pūval*,²² the latter three being water pits without a protecting structure of wood around them. Behind the well stretched a garden, either a kitchen garden or a fruit tope, *kollai*,²³ *toppu*,²⁴ *tōṭṭam*,²⁵ *avalam*,²⁶ *tuḍavai*,²⁷ *toḍuvu*,²⁸ *paḍappai*,²⁹ *pāvagam*,³⁰ *punam*.³¹ In the *kollai* behind the house was the *kōṭṭil*,³² cattle-shed, *kōṭṭu*,³³ from probably the same word as Telugu *godḍu*, cattle, and *il*, meaning house. Behind the garden stretched the corn fields, *vayal*.³⁴

The furniture of houses was utensils for polishing and grinding rice and for cooking it in various ways. *Ural*³⁵ and *ullakkai*³⁶ mortar and pestle, of both wood and stone, pounding stones of several shapes, sometimes the shape of the tortoise or other animals, *ammi*,³⁷ *tiruvai*³⁸ *āṭṭukkal*,³⁹ *kuḷavi*,⁴⁰ mealers of stone, *puṭṭil*,⁴¹ *vattigai*,⁴² basket, *muṛam*,⁴³ *sinnam*,⁴⁴ *śulagu*,⁴⁵ *tattu*,⁴⁶ *muṇṇil*,⁴⁷ winnowing fan, *salladai*,⁴⁸ sieve; different forms of pots of earthenware or soft stone, *pānai*.⁴⁹ *ṣaṭṭi*,⁵⁰ *śāl*,⁵¹ *kuḍam*,⁵² *miḍa*,⁵³ *pānā*,⁵⁴ *mallāy*,⁵⁵ lid for the same, *maḍakkū*;⁵⁶ spoons, at first made of wood, and then of iron or other metal, *agappai*,⁵⁷ (of three kinds, *taṭṭagappai*,⁵⁸ *sandagappai*,⁵⁹ *śirragappai*,⁶⁰) *ṣaṭṭuvam*,⁶¹ *karaiḍi*,⁶² *muṭṭai*, *tuḍuppu*,⁶³ *maravai*,⁶⁴ *marakkāl*,⁶⁵ or *ambanam*,⁶⁶ *toṭṭi*,⁶⁷ *kinṇam*,⁶⁸ *vaiṭṭi*,⁶⁹ *vaiṭṭil*,⁷⁰ flat spoon, all of wood or stone coming down from the stone age and a few of metal since the commencement of the iron age; other household furniture were *maṇai*,⁷¹ planks for sitting on or shaped logs used as pillows, *peṭṭi*,⁷² *pēḷai*,⁷³ *aṇṇikai*,⁷⁴ box, the stone-age form of which was the *kattuppeṭṭi*,⁷⁵ a box of wicker work without any metal parts and bound together by means of cocoanut coir, and hence absolutely unpollutable by touch and fit for storing eatables and the Lares and Penates; *kaiṭṭil*,⁷⁶ literally bound place, a cot made of bamboos fitted together into an oblong framework bound together with ropes, also called *pāṇḍil*; ⁷⁷ literature mentions richer forms of

¹சாகதலை. ²சாலகம். ³தூம்பு. ⁴புழல். ⁵சுருங்கு. ⁶புரை. ⁷அகல். ⁸நகல். ⁹தகல். ¹⁰இடிஞ்சில். ¹¹பாண்டில். ¹²பஞ்சி வண்டிச் செஞ்சுடர் நல்லில். ¹³*Kurundogai*, 353. A good house with red flames issuing from white pots of cotton wool. ¹⁴கினறு. ¹⁵அசம்பு. ¹⁶உறவி. ¹⁷குழி. ¹⁸கூயல். ¹⁹கூடம். ²⁰தூறு. ²¹கேண். ²²பூவல். ²³கொல்லை. ²⁴தோப்பு. ²⁵தோட்டம். ²⁶ஆலம். ²⁷துடை. ²⁸தாடி. ²⁹பட்டை. ³⁰பாகம். ³¹புனம். A new *kollai* was *vidaippunam*, (விதைப்புனம்.) and an old one, or one made by cutting and burning down a forest, *mudaiṭṭupunam* (முதைப்புனம்.) ³²கொட்டில். ³³கொட்டி. ³⁴காலை. ³⁵உரல். ³⁶உலகை. ³⁷அம்மி. ³⁸திருவை. ³⁹ஆட்டெகல். ⁴⁰குழவி. ⁴¹புட்டில். ⁴²வட்டிகை. ⁴³முறம். ⁴⁴சின்னம். ⁴⁵செருகு. ⁴⁶தட்டி. ⁴⁷முற்றில். ⁴⁸சல்லடை. ⁴⁹பாளை. ⁵⁰சட்டி. ⁵¹சரல். ⁵²கூடம். ⁵³நீடர். ⁵⁴பா. ⁵⁵மல்லாய். ⁵⁶மடக்கு. ⁵⁷அகப்பை. ⁵⁸தட்டகப்பை. ⁵⁹சந்தகப்பை. ⁶⁰நெற்கப்பை. ⁶¹சட்டிவம். ⁶²கரையி. ⁶³துப்பி. ⁶⁴மரவை. ⁶⁵மரக்கரல். ⁶⁶ஆம்பனம். ⁶⁷தோட்டி. ⁶⁸இன்னம். ⁶⁹கி. ⁷⁰வட்டில். ⁷¹மண். ⁷²பெட்டி. ⁷³*Tapalai*, *tavalai*, and *śarvam* are now used for metal pots and are perhaps loan-words of a later age. ⁷⁴பேழை. ⁷⁵மஞ்சிக்கை. ⁷⁶கட்டிப்பெட்டி. ⁷⁷கட்டில். ⁷⁸பாண்டில்.

the *pāṇḍil*, which will be described later on, tied with tape, *taṭṭam*,¹ or *kachchu*,² woven with decorative lines, like the stripes of a tiger; this kind of cot was called *kachchukkattil*,³ the former being *kayirruk-kattil*.⁴

Besides the cot there was the *toṭṭil*,⁵ cradle, literally, hanging place, (from *to*,⁶ whose intensive is *toṅgu*,⁷ to hang,) *tūli*,⁸ hammock, *ūñjal*⁹ or *vīṣupalagai*,¹⁰ swinging plank, *kuḍalai*,¹¹ plaited basket for gathering flowers, *ṣimil*,¹² small casket, *uyi*,¹³ or *ṣimili*,¹⁴ a loop of string suspended from the roof of a house or from the end of a pole called *kāvaḍi*,¹⁵ by means of which one man can carry two men's loads; *kaṇappu*,¹⁶ or *kumbatti*,¹⁷ for warming the hands and the breast during cold nights, *paṭṭadai*,¹⁸ *ṣumūḍu*,¹⁹ *ṣummāḍu*,²⁰ contrivances on which to stand pots *kūḍu*,²¹ coop, *kudir*,²² granary, *paraṇ*,²³ *idaṇam*,²⁴ *kaḷudu*,²⁵ *paḍagam*,²⁶ *paṇavai*,²⁷ loft for storing articles, also raised platform for watching birds and other enemies of the growing crops, *taḍavu*,²⁸ *indalam*,²⁹ censer, *ṇelikol*,³⁰ stick for churning fire, *tūkku*,³¹ *kā*,³² *nīraikol*,³³ steelyard introduced into Europe by the Dutch and hence called Dutch steel-yard, *kaṇṇ*,³⁴ *taḷal*,³⁵ sling, also bull-roarer; *pāy*,³⁶ mat, and *mettai*,³⁷ *aṇai*,³⁸ *amaḷi*,³⁹ *kāguḷi*,⁴⁰ *taviṣu*,⁴¹ *taḷimam*,⁴² bed stuffed with cotton. These constitute, even now, the complete furniture of Tamil homes such as have not come under the seductive influence of European foreign trade.

The poorer people lived in huts, *kuḍisai*,⁴³ *kuḍil*,⁴⁴ *kuchchu*,⁴⁵ *kuchchil*,⁴⁶ *kurambai*.⁴⁷ Their walls were made of wattle and clay, and they were generally circular, rarely rectangular, in shape; the roof was rarely aspidal, but mostly domical and topped by a pot, *kuḍam*,⁴⁸ through a hole in which were passed the bamboos constituting the framework of the roof; and from the early days when such huts were built, temples were built in similar fashion, and when later they were built of brick or stone, over the shrines was built a domical roof, furnished with a metal pot, now called *kalaṣam*⁴⁹ and serving an ornamental, not useful, purpose.

The following is a description of a hunter's hut of old times:—

'In the huts of the hunters were leaning, on the planks decorated with bells, lances whose ends were blunted and smelling of flesh from the bodies of enemies whom the hunters killed and left lying on the ground, a prey for kites. Bows with the string tied in knots were also leaning on the walls on which there was a thatch of *ūga*⁵⁰ grass. Bundles of arrows with notches like honeycombs on hills were hanging from the thick legs of the pandal. The huts were guarded by dogs chained to posts. The compound was surrounded by a living hedge of thorns. The door was fastened by a strong beam. In front were

- | | | | | |
|---------------|------------|------------------|-----------------------|--------------|
| 1 தட்டம். | 2 தச்சு. | 3 தச்சுதாட்டில். | 4 தவிர்த்துத்தட்டில். | 5 தொட்டில். |
| 6 தொ. | 7 தொக்கு | 8 தூவி. | 9 தாஞ்சல். | 10 வீசுபலகை. |
| 11 திழும். | 12 உதி. | 13 திமிலி. | 14 தாவுடி. | 15 தாவிட்டி. |
| 16 தட்டாட்டி. | 17 கழுதி. | 18 தம்மாடு. | 19 துட்டி. | 20 துதிர். |
| 21 இணை. | 22 கழுது. | 23 பாசம். | 24 பணைவு. | 25 தட்டி. |
| 26 தொல்கோல். | 27 தூக்கு. | 28 தா. | 29 திறைக்கோல். | 30 தவண். |
| 31 பாசம். | 32 தொத்தை. | 33 துணை. | 34 தாருளி. | 35 தவிசு. |
| 36 துடிசை. | 37 துடிசு. | 38 துச்சு. | 39 துச்சி. | 40 தவிசு. |
| 41 துட்டி. | 42 தவண். | 43 துச்சு. | 44 துச்சி. | 45 தவிசு. |
| 46 துட்டி. | 47 தவண். | 48 துச்சு. | 49 துச்சி. | 50 தவிசு. |

fixed rows of stiff-standing, cruel-pointed stakes. Such were the houses of the hunters who were armed with the bent bow.¹

More or less irregular rows or groups of *kudīśais*,² huts, sparsely interspersed with *māligais*,³ constituted the street, *teru*,⁴ *āvaṇam*,⁵ *kōṣam*,⁶ *ñellal*,⁷ *maṇṇu*;⁸ a long street was called *maṇṇam*,⁹ a short one, *koṇam*,¹⁰ and the place where many streets meet, *śadukkam*,¹¹ or *sandu*.¹² Towns and villages were named variously according to the regions, *tiṇai*,¹³ they belonged to. Thus in Kūrīñji, they were called *śirukudī*,¹⁴ *kurichchi*;¹⁵ in Mullai, *paḍi*,¹⁶ *śeri*,¹⁷ *paḷli*;¹⁸ in Marudam, *ār*;¹⁹ in Neydal, *pākkam*;²⁰ and in Pālai, *paṇaḍalai*.²¹ In the towns dwelt, side by side, *mēlor*,²² or *uṇarudor*,²³ and *kīlor*,²⁴ or *tāḷudor*,²⁵ the higher and the lower classes. The later literature of the early Christian centuries speak of two assemblies of men who were the recipients of royal confidence—*aiṁberukūḷu*,²⁶ and *eṇṇerāyam*.²⁷ *kūḷu*,²⁸ and *āyam*,²⁹ meant assemblies; the five assemblies have been explained by commentators as those of ministers, priests, army leaders, ambassadors and intelligence officers, but the names of these, viz., *amaichchar*,³⁰ *puṇḍitar*,³¹ *śēnāpadiyar*,³² *tūduvar*,³³ and *sāraṇar*,³⁴ are all *tadbhavas* from Sanskrit and hence it is difficult to decide that the five groups of officers existed from old times. The group of eight are said to consist of ministers, executive officers, treasury officers, door-keepers, citizens, generals, elephant-warriors, horse-soldiers.³⁵ This enumeration, mixing men of high and low degree, does not strike one as referring to very ancient times. An early commentator of *Silappadigāram* gives a less improbable enumeration of these five and eight assemblies; the five are made up of sages, Brahmans, physicians, soothsayers and ministers; even this cannot be a classification of the Pre-Aryan Epoch because Brāhmaṇas occurs in the list. The eight are those who apply sandal paste to the person of the king, those that decorate him with flowers, those that

1. பூதநாயகம்
 இவ்வாறு தெவ்வக கட்டை வேசணி
 கண்ணி மருந்திய புலவனாய் வேயேகம்
 வகவணம் பகலையெடுகிறாறு முடிந்த
 சாபஞ் சந்ததிய கண்ணிக்கு விவானை
 குறும் வேய்தலை வயர்நிலை வகவணம்
 ஊர்த்தெய் புறத்தேய் சாபவகை பம் புறத்தெய்
 சந்தெய் துள்ளுந் துள்ளுந் பந்தத்தே
 தொடகைய வேய்தலை துள்ளுந் துள்ளுந்
 வாய்நுள் வேய்தலை குறும்நிலை பம்பயை
 கொடுதகை தந்தியும் புறத்தே செவ்விலை
 கொடுதெய் வயகையு நிறுத்தத் வாய்த
 கொடுதெய் வெய்யன் குறும்நிலை

Perumbānārruṣṣadai. 117—129.

2 குருசை. 3 மாணசை. 4 தெரு. 5 ஸுலபனம். 6 காகசை. 7 குருல்லல. 8 மரகு. 9 மனறம்
10 பகாணம். 11 சதுக்கம். 12 சத்து. 13 நினை. 14 குருசு. 15 குதிச்சு. 16 பாடி. 17 செரி.
18 கொறி. 19 லாசு. 20 பாக்கம். 21 பைத்தலை. 22 உயர்ச்சுதோர். 23 குமோர். 24 குமோர்.
25 தாமத்தோர். 26 அம்பெருகுரு. 27 எண்டோராயம். 28 குரு. 29 ஆயம். 30 அனையர். 31 புரோசுதர்.
32 சேனபுதியர். 33 ஆயுதம். 34 சாசனம் அனையர்ச் புரோசுதர் சேனபுதியர் தலைத்தொழிர்.
நூதனச் சாசனஞ் செய்துப் பரந்தியப் பைத்தலையும் குருமனப்படுமரு. *Divākaram* 103.
35 சாசனத்தியலலவர் கருமிவிதிகள், சாசனச்சுற்றலகடை கப்பாநர், நகமர்ந்தச் சனிப்படைத்தலைவர்,
யானை வீ சிவாமிந் வரினையசென்ப சாயமென்ப. *ib.* quoted in the commentaries on
Silappadigāram, v. 157, p. 144.

fasten his belt, those that clothe him, those that supply arecanut and betel leaves and those that put on his armour.' This looks like a genuine list of the persons immediately round the king.

DRESS

The cotton plant is a native of India and the Indians of the later stone age learnt to spin the cotton fibre into thread, *nūl*,² *iḷai*,³ *varadu*,⁴ *toḍar*,⁵ *nuvanam*,⁶ *panuvai*,⁷ *piṣin*,⁸ and to weave cotton yarn into long pieces of cloth. The idea of cloth was no doubt suggested by *pannāḍai*⁹, also called *neyyari*¹⁰ which the people wore, besides hides, before the invention of cotton-weaving. *Pannāḍai* is the web at the bottom of a young palmyra or cocoanut leaf and was used as cloth in very ancient times, for *maravuri*,¹¹ tree-flay, also called *aṣini*,¹² *iṇaiṇji*,¹³ *śīram*,¹⁴ *śīrai*,¹⁵ is one of the forms of dress which possesses the holiness of hoary antiquity and is patronized by sacred ascetics and pilgrims. The supply of cotton was abundant and weavers wore endless lengths of cotton cloth, *tugil*,¹⁶ which they cut into short pieces, *aruṇai*,¹⁷ *tuṇi*,¹⁸ *tuṇḍu*¹⁹ before winding round their persons. The number of words meaning dress is very great: *āṣāran*,²⁰ *āṣiḍai*,²¹ *āḍai*,²² *idaidal*,²³ *ilakkāram*,²⁴ *udukkai*,²⁵ *uḍai*,²⁶ *eḍagam*,²⁷ *oliyal*,²⁸ (specially used for *mēḷāḍai*, cloth worn over the shoulder), *kandai*,²⁹ *kattiyam*,³⁰ *kappaḍam*,³¹ *kalai*,³² *kāḍagam*,³³ *kāṇḍam*,³⁴ *kāḷagam*,³⁵ *kūrai*,³⁶ (now used for cloth, presented to the bride during marriage), *koḍi*³⁷ (now used for cloth, unwashed, straight from the hands of the weaver or the vendor), *śambaran*,³⁸ *sāḍi*,³⁹ *siṇṇil*,⁴⁰ *śīrai*,⁴¹ *śūḍi*,⁴² *śelai*,⁴³ *tānai*⁴⁴ (also *mēḷāḍai*), *tūṣu*,⁴⁵ *tūṭṭi*,⁴⁶ *tūriyam*,⁴⁷ *tōkkai*,⁴⁸ *miḍiyal*,⁴⁹ *pūḍavai*,⁵⁰ (now restricted to the long piece of cloth worn by women), *paḍam*,⁵¹ *paṭṭam*,⁵² and many others. All these words meant cloth woven of the fibre of cotton. Those woven of silk were called *karambu*,⁵³ *paṇi*,⁵⁴ *paraṇam*,⁵⁵ *pāḷidam*,⁵⁶ and woollen cloth, *mayiragam*,⁵⁷ *vayiriyam*.⁵⁸ The fewness of the names of silk and woollen cloth shows that weaving in these was scarce. Cloth dyed in various colours, *sāyam toytta*,⁵⁹ was freely used. Indeed decoration being the chief aim of Indian art, as will be explained later, plain white cloth was considered as fit for occasions of mourning and for being worn by women in permanent mourning, i.e., widows. Hence dyed cloth and that decorated with flowers on the borders and throughout the body of the cloth was the usual wear. A much decorated cloth,

சாசுதுதுக கச்சாண்ட பாகிபை கஞ்சகஞ்ச

பாயந்த விவரணம் சாயத்தோர்—கேவந்தர்க்கு

நாசனம் பரப்பார் மருத்தர் வாழ்மித்த ரோடமைச்ச

சாசுவலைக் கவந்தாரைத்து. *op. cit.* p. 144.

- | | | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|--------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| 2. துல. | 3. இறழ. | 4. சரளி. | 5. தாடர். | 6. நுலணம். | 7. பருவல். | 8. பிடுக. | 9. பனஞ்சுடை. |
| 10. பம்பரி. | 11. மரவுரி. | 12. துனி. | 13. இறைத்து. | 14. தீரம். | 15. தீரை. | 16. துவி. | 17. அரைவ. |
| from root | அ. to cut. | 18. துண்ட. | 19. துண்டு, both from root | து to cut. | 20. துசாரம். | 21. துசுடை. | 22. துடை. |
| 23. துடை. | 24. இலக்காரம். | 25. உடுக்கை. | 26. உடை. | 27. உடகம். | 28. ஒலிபல். | 29. கதை. | 30. தத்தியம். |
| 31. தப்பிடம். | 32. தலை. | 33. தாடகம். | 34. தாண்டம். | 35. தாழகம். | 36. கதை. | 37. சரம். | 38. சம்பரம். |
| 39. சரடி. | 40. | 41. தீரை. | 42. துடி. | 43. துசை. | 44. துடை. | 45. துடி. | 46. துடை. |
| 47. | 48. துடைக்கை. | 49. மிடியல். | 50. புட. | 51. படரம். | 52. படரம். | 53. படரம். | 54. படரம். |
| 55. படரம். | 56. படரம். | 57. மயிரகம். | 58. மயிரகம். | 59. சாயத்தோர். | 60. சாயத்தோர். | 61. சாயத்தோர். | 62. சாயத்தோர். |

woven so finely that the yarn could not be distinguished by sight and adorned with woven flowers so that it looked like the skin of the serpent is referred to in literature.¹ The sentiment against plain, white, undecorated cloth was so strong even two generations ago, when machine-made cloth began to compete vigorously with hand-woven cloth, that the more conservative of the men, who were tempted to use Manchester mull on account of its cheapness, stitched across its borders and along its edges, lines of red thread to make it look respectable. Even to-day the old instincts assert themselves on occasions of festive celebrations, when undecorated cloth is taboo. This objection to undecorated cloth, yards of unrelieved whiteness, this sentiment springing from age-long association of plain, undyed, undecorated cloth with mourning and the offensiveness of its monotony to eyes trained to a sense of beauty and to the æsthetic instincts common to all Indians, has in the last two generations been vanquished by the glamour of machine-made cloth, woven of yarn spun evenly by spinning machines and polished by chemical appliances, ever-new forms of which are being invented day after day. Tamil ladies alone have presented a solid front of opposition to this destruction of the æsthetic sense of South Indians by soul-less, machine-made cloth.

Weaving in wool is as ancient as weaving in cotton; it was essentially an industry, not of *marudam*, but of *mullai*, in the less fertile parts of which lived the *Kuṟumbar*,² the class of herdsmen who tended the *kuṟumbaḍu*,³ and wove from its fleece the *kambalam*.⁴ ten thousands years ago as they do to-day. Wool weaving did not go beyond its crude stage in Southern India; but in Northern India, and especially in Kashmir, where the supply of soft wool from the necks of Himalayan goats was unlimited and where vegetation on the banks of hill-streams and beds of flowers on mountain-sides, presented ever varying patterns to be incorporated by the weaver in wool, was developed the splendid industry of shawl-weaving, which will never be killed by the greatest growth of machine-weaving, so long as man has eyes to see beautiful forms and sense to appreciate beautiful designs.

Silk was used chiefly for decorating the edges of cotton cloth, since the silk fibre was not abundant; but from the earliest times cloth was also wholly woven of silk thread; silk cloth and woollen cloth are less susceptible of the pollution of touch than cotton cloth, showing that they were older manufactures than the latter. A cloth woven from rat's hair is also mentioned.⁵ But cotton cloth was peculiarly sensitive to touch, in the sense that it could be easily polluted. Every piece of cotton cloth, doffed, *viḷutta*,⁶ after wear even for a second became *viḷuppu*,⁷ polluted, and the pollution could be got rid of only after being washed with water, dried in air and folded, when it became *maḍi*.⁸ This last word meaning fold, came to mean a cloth,

¹சேகரு நழைக்கல்லா நன்மைப் பூக்களத் தரவுரியன்ன வுறவை. *Porunarāṟṟuppaḍai*, 82.83.

²குறம்பர். ³குறம்பாடு. ⁴கம்பலம்.

⁵ *Silappadigāram*, xiv. 205-7 speaks of the streets where were sold, cloth folded a hundred-fold, woven of fine cotton yarn, hair and silk thread; here the commentator explains hair to be rats' hair.

⁶“தூவினு மலிரினு நழைந்துப் பட்டினும், பரவ்வகை தெரியாப் பன்னுநடுக்கத்து ஈறுமடி, செறிந்த வறுவை விதியும்”

⁷விழுத்த. ⁸விழுப்பு. ⁸மடி.

sacramentally pure, when folded after being washed and dried. Such cloth was unfolded and worn, a long piece around the waist and another, round the trunk, loose and graceful, beautiful to look at and allowing the air and the sun to kiss the skin and destroy the innumerable germs that get lodged in it and destroy its health. The supply of cotton being unlimited and the patience of the weavers being inexhaustible, there was no temptation, such as existed in wool-wearing countries, to cut up cloth so as to make small bits go a long way, and to prepare stitched clothes. Not that the needle (*ūsi*,¹ *ilai-vāṅgi*,²) or its use in stitching, *tunnal*,³ *taiyal*,⁴ was unknown,⁵ but in addition to the objection that stitched clothes reveal too much the human anatomy, there was no necessity to use them when cloth was plentiful. Indeed whole cloth, without a tear, mended or unmended, became in popular estimation sacramentally pure, and stitches of any kind rendered cloth unfit for use on ceremonial occasions. Ladies who in all respects preserve ancient orthodoxy intact, do not wear stitched cloth on such occasions. The jacket, the only form of stitched clothes ladies wear, has got the non-Tamil name of *ravikkai*; ⁶ it was possibly introduced into the country by Yavana (Greek and Roman) ladies that formed the body-guard of Indian kings two thousand years ago, or later by the Muhammadans. Whatever its origin, it is worn only on secular occasions and even then only by young women, who are allowed greater lapses into heterodoxy of conduct than elderly ladies. Serving men and soldiers wore coats, *saṭṭai*,⁷ *kupṭāyam*,⁸ *taippai*,⁹ *meypṭai*,¹⁰ the latter two *kāranappayar*, indicating that a coat was a late introduction in the lives of the Tamils. The absence of stitched clothes among the Indians struck that accurate foreign student of Indian manners, Al Bērūnī, as so peculiar, that he remarks that the Indians 'wore turbans for trousers,' a long piece of unstitched cloth appealing to the Muslim imagination as being fit only for turbans. The Tamils did not wear turbans as a rule, their unshaved head serving as sufficient protection against the sun; but in the cotton districts where the summer sun is so fierce, men wore huge turbans and tight fore-lap cloth. This latter, *kachchu*,¹¹ *kachchai*,¹² *kōvanam*,¹³ is the only absolutely indispensable garment for the Tamil people, and is woven with decorative lines, athwart and along, even to-day in parts of South India. Apparently the turban was not universal; only one name for it is traceable—*pāgai*,¹⁴ or *pāgu*,¹⁵ often with *talai*,¹⁶ prefixed to it, it is not possible to guess why. There remain *kuḍai*,¹⁷ umbrella, made of palm leaves and fixed to a stick or clapped on the head like a hat, and *seruppu*,¹⁸ leather sandals and *kuradu*,¹⁹ wooden sandals, for the feet, both also being referred to by the compound word *midiyāḍi*.²⁰

௧௮. இழைவங்கி. ௧௯. தன்னல். ௨௦. தைப்பல்.

⁵ A poor man's rags are described in *Porunarāyruṭṭadai*, 80-81, as cloth stitched, full of threads other than those with which it was woven and wet with sweat.

சேரரெடு நனைந்த வேற்றிழை துழைந்த, தன்னற் சிறா ஆர்.

௭. சிந்தை.	௮. சட்டை.	௯. குப்பாயம்.	௧௦. தைப்பை.	௧௧. மெய்ப்பை.	௧௨. தச்சு.
௧௩. சச்சு.	௧௪. சேரவணம்.	௧௫. பரகை.	௧௬. பரகு.	௧௭. தலை.	௧௮. குடை.
௧௯. சேருப்பு.	௨௦. குறடு.	௨௧. மிதியடி.			

DECORATION

The artistic instincts of the Indian people expressed themselves in the form of personal decoration by means of dress and ornaments. Love of decorating not only the person but of every article, has been the inspiring motive of Indian art throughout the ages. Their dwellings were decorated with colour drawings, as is proved by the fact that palettes, and pencils have been found in Stone Age settlements and that even to-day painting on walls and covering the floor daily inside and outside houses with most elaborate designs in coloured powders is practiced. The custom is so old that only on occasions of a death in the house, is it temporarily suspended. Such adornment of the floor is called *kolam*,¹ which word means beauty, ornaments, embellishments, costumes, trappings, and *kolam bunaippen*,² or *vanna-magal*,³ is the girl who is expert in embellishment, also a lady's dressing maid. This is one of many ancient Indian customs that is dying out on account of the impact of Western civilization; our ladies are struggling to keep up the custom, but our young girls are being no more apprenticed to our matrons for being trained as *kolam bunaippen*. As the soul-less 'type-design' buildings constructed by the D.P.W., are destroying taste in architecture, so the education that is given in our girls' schools is killing out the ancient Indian art of house decoration, which now exists only in the villages round celebrated temples and which can be witnessed only on occasions when the temple God is brought out in procession.

Every article of domestic furniture was decorated with art work. Stone articles were made in the shape of tortoises, fishes, heads of cows, etc. and their surface decorated with lines. All articles of wood were filled with wood-carving in various designs. Most of these designs were based on the parts of the lotus plant. The lotus is a plant, every part of which is useful to man; its flower, its seed, its root and its stem are edible and also used in Indian medicine. Its stem and flowers and leaves are used for purposes of decoration. Hence the shape of its leaf and flower and of its stem and seed were combined in various ways to make designs for carving in wood or metal. Every part of the house was ornamented with such carvings: the door-frame, the doors, beam-ends, every part of a pillar, its base, its body, its cornice, was filled with beautiful carvings. When stone was substituted for wood as material for all this work, designs for wood-carving were transferred to stone, though it is very difficult to copy on stone the kind of carving suited to wood.

Not only fixtures but also all movable articles were filled with decorative carving. Sitting and other planks had many designs cut on them; lotus flowers, cut in metal, were used to make them look pleasing to the eye. All household utensils of wood or metal were works of art. Drinking vessels and water-pots were not only made of the most artistic shapes but were decorated with line-drawing and carving; this continues to be so except in towns where the ugly machine-made products of modern European factories are slowly displacing the products of ancient Indian art-work and the artistic sense of the Indian people being slowly choked out.

¹ கலம்.² கலம் புனைப்பவர்.³ வண்ணமகள்.

The humblest tool used by the ancient Indian was made of a beautiful shape and was besides decorated; the humble bill book, *arivāl*,¹ which is hooked on to the waist-string of the labourer, is not only of a beautiful shape, but is provided with leaf shaped notches and the brass ferule which binds it to its handle is decorated with art work. The vegetable knife, used in every house, *arivālmānai*,² has its iron part shaped to resemble a bird and its wooden part covered with line-design. No Indian workman will finish any work of his hands, small or big, humble or otherwise, without putting on it some bit of art work. The country cart, cumbrous as it looks to the careless observer, has every part of it, including the beam, *achchu*,³ on which the frame-work rests and which holds or does duty for the axle-tree is filled with carvings of the lotus flower or the lotus leaves or stems. The rich carvings on temple-cars which are but copies of ancient wood temples, are too well known to require description here.

The extraordinary development of wood-carving (succeeded by stone-carving) in preference to other forms of art in India was due to two causes. Hard woods that lent themselves to most minute carving grew in abundance. But the more important cause is that the aim of Indian art is decorative and not imitative. Ancient Greek art had for its aim the imitation of the forms of men and of natural objects; the nearer the copy was to the original, the more successful was the art product claimed to be. The art work was executed for its own sake, because as Keats said, 'a thing of beauty is a joy for ever'. Hence art was an end in itself and art-objects were not considered decorations of the drawing room or of something other than themselves. Thus the famous frescoes which exist in various parts of the country are but decorations of cave temples and cave-monasteries, just as carving and group-statuary in stone, in stucco, or in wood, are but decorations of the *vimānam*,⁴ *gōpūram*,⁵ or the car of the temple. Hence whereas pictures or statues which belong to Greek art are individual objects, those belonging to Indian art are extensive compositions, stories in paint, or stone or wood. Greek art aims at perfection of form, because each art-product exists by itself: Indian art aims at representation of life and moving objects and not still life, because each figure is but the part of an extensive composition. Self-restraint is the chief characteristic of the Greek art, but the Indian artist lets himself go without any restriction on the outflow of his genius. As a singer when performing *ālāpanam*⁶ of a *rāgam*,⁷ takes a theme and rings endless changes on it, as many as his throat is capable of producing, as a poet, started on a description, seems never to be able to exhaust his subject, so the painter and the carver is never tired of multiplying details in the exposition of the central idea. Foreigners do the greatest injustice possible to Indian art when they take away from their proper place pieces of the stone work of Bharhut or Amarāvati, bits of paintings from Ajanta or Ellora, and judge them divorced from their environment, and in conditions of light different from those where they were originally placed. It looks like judging Shakespeare's plays from a dictionary of quotations.

¹ அரிவால்.
செடியல்.

² அரிவால் மனை.
⁶ ஆலாபனம்.

³ அச்சு
7 ராசம்.

⁴ விமானம்.

Indian art did not aim at producing specimens of every object, big or small, was decorated with art work, the only undecorated objects being the head and neck of a widow who wants to observe life-long mourning. Hence our ladies love to decorate their persons with jewels and silks and it will be an unhappy day for India if their æsthetic sense is blunted by the modern virtue of possessing a bank-balance and they should sell their personal decorations, their 'barbaric pearl and gold' for developing the habit of depositing their wealth in banks. The Tamil ladies of ancient times were decorated in various ways. Their *kūṇḍal*¹ was dressed in various artistic ways, one of which was in imitation of *suṇavu vāy*,² shark's mouth. Other ways of *mayirmuḍi*³ or binding the hair into knots were *uchchi*,⁴ *koṇḍai*,⁵ *koppu*,⁶ *sigaiḷigai*,⁷ *tammilam*,⁸ and *muḥchi*.⁹ The different kinds of garlands with which the head and neck were adorned have already been referred to. The body was painted with pastes and powders of various kinds. The chief of the pastes were *manjal*,¹⁰ turmeric or saffron made into a paste, *śandaṇakkulambu*¹¹ also called *tēyvai*,¹² *śandu*,¹³ *toyil*,¹⁴ *toyil*,¹⁵ sandal paste mixed with various scents. The latter was spread on the chest, the mammæ and the abdomen and beautiful designs in line-drawing drawn thereon. A variety of paste for the hair was called *tagaram*.¹⁶ On the paste was strewn powders of several kinds. One such was *porchunnam*,¹⁷ powdered gems, gold, sandal wood, and camphor.

The Tamils were exceedingly fond of decoration; so there are many words meaning to decorate, e.g., *aṇi*,¹⁸ *ār*,¹⁹ *śūdu*,²⁰ *puṇai*,²¹ *pūṇ*,²² *malai*,²³ *miḷai*,²⁴ *vēy*,²⁵ *miḷai*,²⁶ *ey*, *vari*.²⁷

So, too, there are numerous words which mean an ornament, of which some are *aṇi*,²⁸ *aṇikalam*,²⁹ *āram*,³⁰ *iḷai*,³¹ *nagai*,³² *paṇi*,³³ *pūṇ*,³⁴ *mañju*,³⁵ *madāṇi*,³⁶ *vallī*.³⁷ The lobes of the ears were pierced to receive the *toḍu*³⁸ or *kūḷai*;³⁹ poorer people wore the *olai*,⁴⁰ which was at first a bit of tender palmyra leaf, sometime coloured, rolled into a circle; then the same was made of gold plate rolled into various shapes, including the shapes of mythological monsters; the same, set with gems, became the ear-ornament of the rich, *taluruvi*,⁴¹ *kaḍukkan*,⁴² *kaḍippam*,⁴³ *kuṇukku*,⁴⁴ *koṭṭai*,⁴⁵ *tūkkam*,⁴⁶ *toṅgal*,⁴⁷ *veḍam*,⁴⁸ were other ear-ornaments. The jewel symbolic of a married woman was the *tali*⁴⁹ now made of gold and of a peculiar shape. Probably the original *tali* was made of the teeth or claws of the bear or the tiger⁵⁰ killed by the husband in the chase. It may be noted that

¹Other names for the hair that adorns the head of ladies were *aḷagam*, *aimbāl ōḍi*, *kural*, *kurul*, *kuḷal*, *kūral*, *kūḷai*, *kōḍai*, *śurīyal*, *surul*, *neḍumas*, *marāḷḷam*; that which grew equally plentifully on men's heads sometimes halfshorn, *iḷai*, *ōṇi*, *kuñji*, *kuḍumi*, *taḷai*, *toṅgal*, *navir*, *piṭṭai*; besides *kaḍuppu*, *kōḷi*, which meant both. கத்தல், அணம், கம்பரல், ஒடி, குரல், குருக், குழல், கரல், கழல், கோதை, கரியல், கருக், செடுமை, மரட்டம், இலை, ஓரி, குஞ்சி, குடும்பி, நை, தெரங்கல், கவி, பித்தை, கதுப்பு, கோவி.

²தவ்வாய், ³மயிர்முடி, ⁴கச்சி, ⁵கொண்டை, ⁶கொப்பு, ⁷கிலவிகை, ⁸தம்மம், ⁹மஞ்சரி, ¹⁰மஞ்சர், ¹¹சந்தைக்குழம்பு, ¹²தேய்வை, ¹³சரத்த, ¹⁴தேயில், ¹⁵தொயில், ¹⁶தரம், ¹⁷பொந்தண்ணம், ¹⁸அணி, ¹⁹ஆர், ²⁰குடி, ²¹புனை, ²²பூண், ²³மலை, ²⁴மிலை, ²⁵வேய், ²⁶மிலை, ²⁷வரி, ²⁸அணி, ²⁹அணிகலம், ³⁰ஆரம், ³¹இடை, ³²நகை, ³³பணி, ³⁴பூண், ³⁵மஞ்சு, ³⁶மதாணி, ³⁷வள்ளி, ³⁸தோடு, ³⁹கதை, ⁴⁰தலை, ⁴¹தாருகம், ⁴²கடுக்கன், ⁴³கடிப்பம், ⁴⁴குருக்கு, ⁴⁵கொட்டை, ⁴⁶சூக்கம், ⁴⁷தாங்கல், ⁴⁸வேடம், ⁴⁹தாலி, ⁵⁰புலிப்பற்குலி. *Kurundogai* 161.

South Indian women of all castes regard the *tali* as the most sacred symbol of marriage, so much so that they will rather die than be without it for a second. But the tying of a *tali* is not according to the Arya canon-law or North Indian practice an essential part of the wedding rite. According to the Arya law taking seven steps (*saptapati*) with the taking of the bride's hand (*pāṇigrahaṇam*) constitutes the act of marriage and if the bridegroom should die before the *saptapati* is completed, the woman does not become a widow and is fit for marrying another man. But this is not the belief of the women. What can be inferred from this? Either the first Brāhmaṇas of South India were Tamil men affiliated to the Brāhmaṇa priesthood or, if they were all emigrants from North India, they took unto themselves Tamil women as their wives; women being noted for their conservatism, the Tamil custom of tying a *tali* as a symbol of marriage had to be given a premier place in the Brāhmaṇa wedding-rite. It is difficult to believe that, if the first Brāhmaṇa men and women were both foreign emigrants, they borrowed a Tamil custom and made it more important than their Arya ones. Other important ornaments were strings of gold-thread, pearls, coral, etc., provided with pendants set with gems. They were called *kaḷ*,¹ *tāmaṁ*,² *savi*,³ *saraḍu*,⁴ *koḍi*,⁵ *nāṇ*,⁶ *saṅgili*,⁷ *kayil*,⁸ *kaḍai*,⁹ *kovai*,¹⁰ *toḍar*,¹¹ *kokkuvāṁ*.¹² The pendants besides the *tali*, were *kavaḍi*,¹³ *sarappaḷi*,¹⁴ etc. At the waist were also worn strings of gold or silver, *kuṇṅguṣeṇi*,¹⁵ *kavāṇaṇi*,¹⁶ *paṭṭigai*,¹⁷ on which were strung little tinkling bells, *sadaṅgai*,¹⁸ *kiṅkiṇi*.¹⁹ Ornaments for the ankles were *ṣilambu*,²⁰ *kaḷal*,²¹ *pāda-gam*.²² They were also furnished with tinkling bells. At the wrists and above the elbows were worn *vaḷai*,²³ literally a circle, *kaṭṭu*,²⁴ a guard, *kaṇṇu*,²⁵ *kurugu*,²⁶ *saṅgu*,²⁷ *śari*,²⁸ *śūḍagam*,²⁹ *toḍi*,³⁰ *vaṇḍu*,³¹ *vallī*,³² *piḍigam*.³³ Several forms of wristlets, bracelets and anklets were given by kings as a reward for feats of strength or skill. The fingers and toes were ornamented with rings, *mōḍiram*,³⁴ *āḷipili*.³⁵ Women wore a cap of pearls for the mammae,³⁶ which were tied by means of a belt, *mulaikkachchu*.³⁷ Besides human beings, elephants, horses, bulls and even vehicles were heavily decorated.

Here is a description of a highly-decorated cot. 'They take the tusks of the fiercely-fighting elephant, which have dropped of their own accord, and cut the sides till they are of uniform shape and colour, fix between them leaves carved by the sharp chisels of the skilled carpenter. They place all round panels carved with scenes of lion-hunting and lined with many-coloured hairs of tigers; they decorate it with twigs, jasmine and other flowers; they furnish the cot with windows. Then they hang all around the broad cot, curtains made of pearls strung on thread. They tie tapes woven with coloured lines so as to look like the stripes of a tiger. The ends of the legs of the cot are rounded like bowls which look like the breasts of a pregnant woman; above the bowls, the legs are made to look like roots of

ரழ். ²தாமம். ³சலி. ⁴சாடி. ⁵கொடி. ⁶நாண். ⁷சந்திலி. ⁸கயில். ⁹கடை.
¹⁰கே. மல. ¹¹தொடர். ¹²கொக்குவாம். ¹³கவடி. ¹⁴சரப்பலி. ¹⁵குதற்குச்செறி. ¹⁶கவாணணி.
¹⁷பட்டிகை. ¹⁸நக்கை. ¹⁹கிண்டினி. ²⁰கிலம்பு. ²¹கழல். ²²பாடகம். ²³வலை. ²⁴காப்படி.
²⁵கண்ணு. ²⁶குருகு. ²⁷சங்கு. ²⁸சரி. ²⁹சூடகம். ³⁰தொடி. ³¹வண்டு. ³²வள்ளி. ³³பிடிக்கம்.
³⁴மோதிரம். ³⁵ஆழிபிலி. ³⁶முத்தணி கொக்கை *Tiruvāṣagam* ix. 10-1 ³⁷முலைக்கச்சு.
 ஆரத்தாம்பி வலர்முலை யாகத்த. *Neṭunelvāḍai* 136.

garlic. The bed, stitched thin and broad, was filled with the pure-coloured down of a swan in love ; on it were placed pillows ; on it was spread a sheet, woven with figures of the water-lily and well-starched.¹

AMUSEMENTS

The ancient Tamils were a mirth loving people ; they gave themselves up to merry-making frequently. Till Aryan religious ideas took firm root in their minds in the post-Christian centuries pessimism did not pull them down. They did not indulge in dark cogitations about the evils of earthly existence and seek for means to abolish the present joys of life for securing a future state of unchanging bliss. Their religious rites, *vilavu*² were accompanied by drinking, singing, dancing and dumb show. Their secular amusements were the chase, *veṭṭai*,³ *āgēdagam*⁴, *pābatti*⁵, wrestling, *marpor*⁶, sword play, single stick, *silambam*⁷, racing with chariots, elephants, bulls, etc. *pandayam*,⁸ playing with balls, *ammānai*⁹, *pandu*¹⁰, gambling and playing with shells, *kavadi*¹¹, *palagarai*¹², *alagu*¹³, *solli*¹⁴. Music was called *isai*¹⁵ or *pāṭṭu*¹⁶, and has been partly discussed under war. Different kinds of tunes, *paṇ*,¹⁷ one at least for each region, was developed. Probably the *paṇ* of *kuṟiṇji* is the tune called *kuṟiṇji* to-day. That of *mullai* was perhaps what is now called *madhyamāvati*, for this is also called *brindavana sārāṅga*. That of *marudam* was perhaps that called *kēdāram*, for *kēdāram*, like *marudam*, means a ploughed field. The *paṇ* for Neydal was probably that now called *punnāgavarāli*, that now used for sailor's songs. Instrumental music was called *pāṇ* and as bards accompanied their songs with playing on the *yāl*, they were called *pāṇar*. There were various forms of drums, the beating of which accompanied singing and dancing. Different kinds of measures or volleys were beaten for different occasions. As specimens, the following may be mentioned : *ṛṇukoṭṭarai*,¹⁸ the cattle

²பொருதொழி காக மொழியெயிற் றருகெறித்து
சிறுஞ் செம்மைபு மொப்ப வல்லோன்
கருளிக் குயின்ற வீரிலை விடையிடுபு
தூங்கியன் மகளிர் வீங்குமுலை கடுப்பப்
புடைதிரன் டிருந்த குடத்த விடைதிரன்
இன்னி கோன்முதல் பொருத்தி யடிபமைத்துப்
பேரன் வெய்திய பெரும்பெயர்ப் பாண்டில்
மடைமா னுண்ணிமை பொலியத் தொடைமாண்டு
குந்தடைச் சரலேக காற்றிக் குந்தறுத்துப்
புலிப்பொறித் கொண்ட பூங்கேழ்த் தட்டத்துத்
தகடுகண் புதைபக் கொண்டுத் தகடர்ச்
பூட்டுரு பன்மயிற் வினாஇ வயமான்
வேட்டம் பொறித்து விளங்கட் காணத்து
முல்லைப் பலபேர துறழப் பூரினாத்து
மெல்லிதின் விரிந்த சேக்கை மேம்படத்
துண்புண ளன்னத் தூர்த்த ஊவி
விணையுண மேம்படப் பாயுண மிட்டுக்
காடிக்கொண்ட கழுவுறு கலிங்கத்துத்
தேரடமைத் தாமடி விரித்த சேக்கை.

Neṭunalvāḍai 117-135.

- | | | | | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|------------------------|-----------------------|
| ² விழவு. | ³ வேட்டை. | ⁴ ஆகேடகம். | ⁵ பாபத்தி. | ⁶ மற்போ. | ⁷ விளம்பம். | ⁸ பத்தயம். |
| ⁹ அம்மான. | ¹⁰ பத்து. | ¹¹ கவடி. | ¹² பலகறை. | ¹³ அளகு. | ¹⁴ சேரழி. | ¹⁵ இசை. |
| ¹⁶ பாட்டு. | ¹⁷ பண். | ¹⁸ ஏறுகோட்பறை. | | | | |

ting measure, *murugiyam*¹, measure for *veriyāṭṭam*², Muruga nce, *maṇamūḷavu*³, marriage drum, *nellarikiṇai*⁴, harvest drum, *roṭṭupparai*⁵, the drum beaten for dragging cars, *puṇappāṭṭupparai*⁶, the drum announcing the king's or a god's going out of the *kōil*, *mīnkoṭṭupparai*⁷, the drum beat announcing a haul of fish, *śūraiṇkoṭṭupparai*⁸, dacoity-drum. Different kinds of noises were also emitted from trumpets to suit various occasions, auspicious and inauspicious, marriage or death processions.

Dancing, *āṭṭam*⁹, *kūttu*¹⁰, was of various kinds. Almost every incident of life had its appropriate dance. *Kūttu*, *kali*¹¹, *kuṇippu*,¹² was a kind of dumb show, in which ideas were expressed by dancing and by elaborate gestures. This was the ancient form of the Tamil drama—the drama where the characters spoke or sang their parts belonged to North India—and is still kept up in Malabar under the name *kathakali*¹³. *Kūttar*¹⁴, *kappūlar*¹⁵, and *kūṭṭiyar*¹⁶ were elaborately made up. The actresses were women of easy virtue for *kūṭṭiyar* has come to mean harlots. Children's dances were *kummi*¹⁷, *tellēnam*¹⁸, *sāḷal*¹⁹, *ōrai*²⁰, etc. Boys played a kind of primitive cricket, in which the bat and the ball were both represented by long and short sticks, *kiṭṭu*²¹, *puḷ*.²²

Music was dispensed by wandering bards who were generally famished if they stuck to their homes.

'O *Pāṇan*, whose legs are tired by wandering from place to place like birds in search of fruits on hills which are covered by mist on the cessation of rain, because you have no one to support you in the world surrounded by the sea, and are surrounded by relatives crying for food, whose body is emaciated and whose mouth denounces the learning he has acquired'.²³

Angling was another amusement. The following is a description of angling :—

'The expert angler of the *pāṇar* tribe carries on his shoulders a leather-bag full of bits of meat and sticks it at the end of a string tied to a long bamboo stick; the fish bites the meat hanging at the bent end of the angling-rod and shakes the string; missing it, the *vāḷai* fish stays with open mouth'.²⁴

Capturing game by means of nets was another favourite amusement.

¹முருகியம். ²வெறியாட்டம். ³முழவு. ⁴கெல்லசிகிணை. ⁵தேரோட்டிப்பறை. ⁶புறப்பாட்டுப்பறை. ⁷மின்சோடப்பறை. ⁸குறைசோடப்பறை. ⁹ஆட்டம். ¹⁰கூத்து. ¹¹கலி. ¹²குனிப்பு. ¹³கதகலி. ¹⁴கூத்தர். ¹⁵கண்ணனார். ¹⁶கூத்தியர். ¹⁷கும்மி. ¹⁸தென்னேனம். ¹⁹சாழல். ²⁰ஓரை. ²¹புள்.

²³தன்கடல் வரைப்பிற் குஞ்சுப் பெருது
பொழிமழை திறந்த புனையெல் குன்றத்துப்
பழுமாச் தேரும பறவை போலக்
கல்வென் சுற்றமொடு காலைஞ்சுத்து திரிதரும்
புல்வென் வர்க்கைப் புலவுவாய் பரண்.

Perumbāṇāyṛuppaḍai, 18-22.

²⁴பச்சுன் பெய்த அவல்பிணி பைத்தோற்
கோவல் பரண்மகன் தலைவலித் தியாத்த
கெடுங்கழைத் தாண்டி. னடுங்க ளாண்டொளீஇக்
கொடுவா லீரும்பின் மடிதலை புலம்பப்
பொதியிரை கதவிய போழ்வாய் வரண்.

Perumbāṇāyṛuppaḍai, 283-287.

'Hard-eyed hunters fix closely woven nets on the thorns of the hedges of fields in Pālāi land and drive into them rabbits which have long ears like the outer petals of the thorny-stalked lotus, they then proceed along with dogs whose jaws are wide-open, beat the shrubs and hunt the rabbit and eat them'.¹

Trials of strength by wrestling was also a common amusement among the Tamils; the following is a description of *maypor*, wrestling² :—

In Āmūr which produces sweet and strong liquor he overcame the great strength of the wrestler; he bent one of his knees and planted it on his adversary's chest; with the other leg he defeated the tactics, bent the back of his rival; as an elephant which tries to eat a bamboo, he hammered his rival's head and feet and conquered him: may Tittan the heroic father of the wrestler see the sight, whether it would please him or not.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

Walking was the only means of transport in nomad times. Modern anthropological opinion is coming round to the view that the Stone Age man was a great wanderer from the earliest times and that there was much intercourse between Asia and Africa on the one hand, and Europe and even America on the other, if not as much as there is in these days of the steam engine. The primitive nomad, hide-clad or sky-clad, shouldered his tools and walked from country to country and spread the different stages of palaeolithic culture all over the world. The motive for this travel was perhaps quest for food and the necessity for avoiding climatic rigour; or perhaps it was merely due to wanderlust and to the non-development of house building and of the habit of storing wealth, and living in one place to guard it from enemies. With the building of permanent habitations and the development of a love of luxury man began to make vehicles. The earliest kind of vehicle was the cart, *vandil*³ also called *ūrdi*,⁴ *oḷugai*⁵, *śagaḍu*⁶, *śaḍu*,⁷ *vaiyam*.⁸ *Vandil* now shortened into *vandi* literally means the bent place, from root of *val* to bend, whence *valai*⁹ to surround, to besiege,

¹ பருவாய் குமலிசெரெ பைப்புத வெருக்கித்
தொருவாய் வேலித் தொடர்வலை மாய்ம
முள்ளரைத் . ஈமரைப் புல்லிதம் புறைய
செருகுசெலித் குழாயல் போக்கற் வளைஇக்
கடுங்கட் கானவர் கடர் கடட்டுண்ணு
மருஞ்சரம்.

Perumbāṇṇṟupṇṇai, i.1-117.

² இனிகடும் கள்ளி குழு தாக்கண்
மைத்தடை மல்லன் மதகலி முருக்கி
யொருகாண் மார்பொதும் கிழ்தே டேரகால்
கருதார் தாங்கிப் பிண்டெதும் கிழ்தே
கல்கிணும் கல்கா னுயிலும் வெல்போர்ப்
போரருத் தித்தன் கான்கநி லம்ம
பசித்தப் பனைமுயலும் யாளை போல
விருதலை யொசிய வெற்றிக்
கனம்புரு மல்லற் கடத்தரு நிலையே.

Perum. 80

³ வண்டி.

⁴ ஊர்தி.

⁵ ஒழுதை

⁶ சைகடு.

⁷ சடு.

⁸ வையம்.

⁹

to tie, and as a noun, a hole, also bangles, from their circular shape, a discus, a conch, *valaiyam*¹ a tank, a hoop, *vattil*², a basket, a tray, a cup, *vattam*³, a circle, a bull roarer, a shield, a tank, all named from the shape, *vattalai*⁴, a circle, a cymbal, *vattu*⁵, a spheroidal pawn used in gambling, *vanangu*⁶, to bow, to adore, *vanar*⁷, an arched roof, *vandu*⁸, a beetle that wheels round and round, *vali*⁹, whirlwind, *vallam*¹⁰, a round eating tray, *valli*¹¹, a bracelet. From early times the people were familiar with a cart and named its various parts. *Achchu*¹², the axle tree, *āni*¹³ (a word found also in the *Rig Veda*), *iruṣu*¹⁴, *kandu*¹⁵, axle pin, *urulai*¹⁶, *uṇḍai*¹⁷, *kāl*¹⁸, wheel, *ār*¹⁹, spokes *sūdu*²⁰, tyre, *kuṇadu*²¹ hub, etc. All parts of the cart were heavily carved.²² The carts were used more for purposes of trade than for travel. Kings and noblemen used a *ter*, car, as already described. The main streets of a city and the roads intended for travel by royal cars were broad. The cars were dragged by bulls, elephants, and in later times by horses. Kings and noblemen also travelled in palanquins, *pallakku*²³, *anigam*²⁴, *tanḍigai*²⁵; those with gems embedded on them were called *kañjigai*²⁶. Transport on water was by means of boats of several kinds and made in several ways, *kappal*²⁷, *oḍam*²⁸, *ambi*²⁹, *toni*³⁰, *teppam*³¹, *pariśal*³², *paḍagu*³³, *kalam*³⁴, *udubam*³⁵, *kōlam*³⁶, *tolḷam*³⁷, *paḡadu*³⁸, *paḍuvai*³⁹, *paṭṭi*⁴⁰, *puruvai*⁴¹, *punai*⁴², *midavai*⁴³, *vallam*⁴⁴, *timil*⁴⁵. It needs scarcely be added that the heads of boats were carved in the shape of the face of lions, elephants, horses, etc., and they were called in later times *arimugavambi*⁴⁶, *karimugavambi*⁴⁷, *kudiraimugavambi*⁴⁸ respectively. Boats were made in several ways; thus *teppam* was a float made of logs bound together, *timil*, a catamaran for fishing, *toni*, a wicker work construction covered with hide, *valam*, a dugout, *paḍagu*, *kappal*, sailing boats and *oḍam*, one rowed with oars. Sailing boats were furnished with *kūmbu*⁴⁹, mast and *pāy*⁵⁰, *idai*⁵¹, sails.

Many words were used to indicate a ship: *ambi*,⁵² *ōṅgal*,⁵³ *kalam*,⁵⁴ *sadā*,⁵⁵ *songu*,⁵⁶ *timil*,⁵⁷ *tolḷai*,⁵⁸ *toni*,⁵⁹ *navu*,⁶⁰ *pāḥri*,⁶¹ *pāḍai*,⁶² *pāraḍi*,⁶³ *pāṇu*,⁶⁴ *punai*,⁶⁵ *pōdam*,⁶⁶ *madalai*,⁶⁷ *vaṅgam*,⁶⁸ *pori*.⁶⁹ The Tamils ought to have been very familiar with boats and ships and to have constantly used them for purposes of transport by water, before they were prompted to invent nearly twenty names for it. The eastern and western coast lines were in olden days dotted with numerous ports, many of which have become useless on account of the retreat of the sea and almost all of which have become deserted by the modern developments of commercial intercourse by sea.

1 வட்டம். 2 வட்டம். 3 வட்டம். 4 வட்டத்தை. 5 வட்டம். 6 வண்ணம். 7 வண்ணம். 8 வண்ணம். 9 வண்ணம்.
10 வண்ணம். 11 வண்ணம். 12 அச்சு. 13 ஆணி. 14 இஞ்சு. 15 கச்சு. 16 உருளை. 17 உருளை.
18 கால். 19 ஆர். 20 குடை. 21 குடை.

22 கருவி பொருத கடுவாழ் கோள்குறட்
டாரஞ் குந்த வயிலவாய் கோமி

Sirupānārrupaḍai, 252-253.

The wheel whose tyre went round felloes inserted in a hub on which figures were carved with a sharp chisel.

3 பல்லகை. 24 அணிதம். 25 தண்டுகை. 26 கஞ்சுகை. 27 தப்பல். 28 துடம். 29 அம்பி.
30 தோணி. 31 தெப்பம். 32 பரிசல். 33 படகு. 34 கலம். 35 உடுபம். 36 தோலம். 37 தொள்ளம்.
38 கடு. 39 படுவை. 40 பட்டம். 41 புருவை. 42 புனை. 43 தலை. 44 வள்ளம். 45 திமில்.
46 அரிமுகவம்பி. 47 கரிமுகவம்பி. 48 குதிரைமுகவம்பி. 49 உடம்பு. 50 பாய். 51 இதை. 52 அம்பி.
53 துடம். 54 கலம். 55 சந்தா. 56 சந்தா. 57 திமில். 58 தோள்கை. 59 தோணி. 60 கவல்.
61 பர். 62 பாறை. 63 பாரதி. 64 புனை. 65 பொருதம். 67 மலை. 68 வய்க்கம். 69 பாறா.

FOOD

Before discussing the food habits of the ancient Tamils it may be pointed out that Indians, throughout the ages, have been mainly vegetarians. Not that they did not love the taste of meat; on the contrary when they got it they ate it with great delight.¹ Nor did they throw to the dogs the game they hunted, without consuming it themselves. But Indians never made the flesh of animals their staple food like the people of Western Europe. The latter living in countries where cereals cannot be produced in abundance, have been forced by their environment to adopt meat as their chief article of food and add to their dietary a minimum quantity of vegetable substance, because meat by itself is not a perfect food and because they cannot resist nature's urge to consume vegetable products charged with the chlorides, and iodides, the sulphates and phosphates and other salts necessary for the healthy life of a body. To use Indian phraseology, meat is their food and vegetable their curry; that is they eat meat to sustain their bodies and cereals and other vegetarian food to add relish to their meat. In India the position is reversed. Rice, wheat, the millets and the pulses are our food, and meat (and green-vegetables) our curry; that is we eat rice or wheat or millet and the seeds of legumes to rebuild tissue lost by combustion, and meat and green vegetables turned into curry to add relish to the cereals which are mostly insipid in themselves and unfitted to stimulate to activity the glands which secrete saliva and other juices necessary for dissolving and digesting starches and proteids. In other words meat is food to Europeans and but curry to Indians. In this connection I may point out that curry, *kari*², is the name in Tamil not only of curried meat or vegetable and of sauce in general, but also

¹ A bard thus describes how he gobbled meat when he was plied with it by a royal patron :

தூஅய் துற்றிய துருவையம் புழுக்கின்
பாரை வேலை பருகெனத் தண்டிக்
காழிற் சுட்ட கோலன் கொழுக்குறை
சூழி னூழின் வாய்வெய் தொற்றி
யவைபவை முனிஞுவ மெனினே சுவைய

Porunarāruppadai, 103-107.

² He urged me many times to eat the stout, well boiled loin of a ram fed with bundles of arugu grass (*Agrostis Linearis*). I ate big lumps of fat flesh, roasted at the end of iron spikes, and, as they were hot, shifted them from the right side of the mouth to the left to cool them. I then said we did not require any more boiled or roasted meat.' And again—

கொல்லை புழுக்கொழு வேய்ப்பப் பல்லை
பெல்லைபு மிரவு முன்றின்ற மழுக்கி
புயிப்பிடம் பெருஅ துண்ணுகிது

Ibid., 117-119.

³ Our teeth, on account of eating meat night and day, became blunt like the blade (plough-share) of the plough with which the garden in the back yard is ploughed, and having no place for rest got disgusted with food. And again—

பாக்வதைக் கருளை காடியின் மிதப்ப
வயின்ற காலை

Ibid., 115-116.

⁴ When I swallowed milk and fried meat till I was filled to the neck.'

means black pepper. This proves that in old times meat and vegetables were boiled with black pepper to turn into curry. In passing I may remark that chilly, *capsicum*, now universally used as a substitute for black pepper in Indian cookery, is a thing introduced into this country from Chili in South America, in recent times, that is, after the rise of modern European trade with India. Hence it has no *iḍukuri*¹ names as has black pepper, i.e., *miriyal*², *miḷagu*³, *kaṇi*⁴, *kalinaṭi*⁵, *kāyam*⁶, *tiraṅgal*⁷, but merely a *kāraṇapṇeyar*⁸, viz., *miḷagukāy*⁹, the fruit that produces a substance like pepper, in Telugu, *miriyapukāya*, the *miriyam*—fruit. Europeans imported pepper from old India from before the Christian Era, their tongues having been captivated by its biting taste or rather touch, for it is touch nerves and not taste nerves that are titillated by the bite of pepper; hence Sanskrit has a *kāraṇapṇeyar*, *yoga*—name for pepper, namely *yavanapṇiyā*, dear to the *yavana*, i.e., the Greeks and the Romans. Though the ancient *yavanas* carried pepper from India in their ships they made a mess of its name, for they did not borrow for it its proper name of *kaṇi*, or *miriyal* or *miḷagu*, but called it *pippali* (whence *pepperos*, pepper) which is the name of long pepper¹⁰. In the middle ages Western Europe imported pepper from India, not for eating, but for sprinkling its powder on meat before drying it for use as food in wintry weather. Such meat was called ‘powdered meat’. Thus pepper was a luxury in ancient Europe and a necessity in mediæval Europe; Venetian bottoms, at first, and later Dutch ones, carried pepper to Western Europe and it was because the avaricious merchants of Holland doubled the price of pepper at the end of the sixteenth century, that in 1599 the East India Company was started, the final result of which was the development of the British Empire in India.

To return to the ancient Tamils. They ate meat, the various names of which *ūn*¹¹, *inaichchi*¹², *pulal*¹³, *tunnu*¹⁴, *ūltai*¹⁵, *ūlttal*¹⁶, *taṣai*,¹⁷ *taḍi*¹⁸, *tūvu*¹⁹, *pun*²⁰, *purai*²¹, *pulavu*²², *vallūram*²³, *viḍakku*²⁴, indicate their fondness for it, as curry and not as food, just as their modern descendants do. This curry was of various kinds (1) *kuy*²⁵, *talitta kari*²⁶, sprinkled with pepper powder, mustard, etc., fried in oil; (2) *karunai*²⁷, *porikkari*²⁸, *varai*²⁹, *tuvaṭṭaṭṭakari*³⁰, fried meat; (3) *tuvaṭṭi*³¹, *puḷiṅgaṭi*³², meat boiled with tamarind and pepper. While on the subject of *kaṇi* I may mention also *kādi*³³, *ūrukari*³⁴, pickles, fruits soaked in oil or water with flavouring substances.³⁵

The Aryas of North India were as great lovers of meat as were the Tamils of South India. From the evidence of the Vedic mantras we

²மிரியல். ³மிளகு. ⁴கறி. ⁵கலினை. ⁶காயம். ⁷திரங்கல். ⁸காரணப்பெயர். ⁹மிளகுக்காயம். ¹⁰திப்பிலி. ¹¹ஊன். ¹²இறைச்சி. It is noteworthy that the word also means, that which is agreeable. ¹³புலால். ¹⁴துண்ணு. ¹⁵ஊத்தை. ¹⁶ஊழ்த்தல். ¹⁷தலை. ¹⁸தடி. ¹⁹துவு. ²⁰புன். ²¹புரை. ²²புலவு. ²³வல்லூர். ²⁴விடகு. ²⁵கூய். ²⁶தரலித்த கறி. ²⁷கருணை. ²⁸பெரிக்கறி. ²⁹வரை. ³⁰துவட்டாக்கறி. ³¹துவட்டி. ³²புலிங்கரி. ³³காடி. ³⁴ஊறுகறி.

35பைத்துணர்

சேறெரக் கொக்கி ஓதுவடி. விதித்த
தகையான் கரடி.

Perumtāṇayruppāḍai, 308-310

The sweet-smelling tender clustered fruit of the mango, preserved.

learn that 'horses',¹, 'bulls',², 'buffaloes',³, 'rams',⁴, and 'goats',⁵ were killed on slaughter-benches, *sūnā*,⁶, cooked in caldrons,⁷ and eaten. The eating of fishes and birds must have also prevailed because fishing and bird-catching are referred to.⁸ In North India there was developed a prejudice against eating the village-fowl, because it feeds on all kinds of repulsive offal; such a prejudice does not seem to have ever risen in South India. In early times there was no sentiment against beef-eating in North India. In the later Vedic age the objection to the eating the flesh of the bull and the cow first arose. Says the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 'Let him not eat (the flesh) of either the cow or the ox; for the cow and the ox doubtless support everything here on earth. The Gods spake, 'verily the cow and the ox support everything here: Come, let us bestow on the cow and the ox whatever belongs to other species; accordingly they bestowed on the cow and the ox whatever vigour belonged to other species of animals; and therefore the cow and the ox eat most. Hence were one to eat the flesh of an ox or of a cow, there would be as it were an eating of everything, or as it were a going on to the end or to destruction. Such a one indeed would be likely to be born again as a strange being (as one of whom there is) evil report, such as he has expelled an embryo from a woman, he has committed a sin; let him therefore not eat the flesh of the cow and the ox. Nevertheless Yājñavalkya said, 'I for one eat it, provided that it is tender.'⁹ Yājñavalkya Rishi, who probably belonged to the early years of the first millennium B.C. was not frightened by the threat that the eating of beef was tantamount to the dreaded sin of *brūṇahatti*; hence the virulent disgust at the very idea of beef-eating that is the marked characteristic of the Hindus to-day is less than of three thousand years' standing. South Indians too of ancient times did not seem to have had much objection to eat the flesh of the cow. As was the case with all other things they liked, they had several names for beef, viz., *vaḷḷūram*¹⁰, *śūṭṭiraicchi*¹¹, *śūṣīyam*¹², *padittiram*.¹³ In later times the objection to beef-eating became violent all through India except among the depressed classes, whose social degradation made them so poor and so incapable of earning enough food that they had no objection to meat of any kind—the flesh of the cow or the buffalo and even the flesh of animals that have died on account of disease. Among the other classes the sentiment against beef-eating developed primarily on account of economical causes. The above is plainly indicated by the remark in the passage from the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* that 'were one to eat the flesh of an ox or a cow, there would be as it were, a going on to the end or to destruction'; besides the need of cattle for agriculture, other reasons were the wide use of milk and milk products in Indian dietary and the moral reason, i.e., the love inspired by the meek and gentle-eyed cow.

The chief cereal used by the Tamils was the paddy *nel*¹⁴, *vari*¹⁵, the names of various varieties of which existed, such as *śeṇjāl*¹⁶, *śennel*¹⁷,

¹A.V. vi. 71, 1. ²R. V. i. 164. 43. ³R.V. v. 29. 7. ⁴R.V., x. 27. 17.

⁵A.V. i. 162-3. ⁶R.V. x. 86. 18. ⁷R.V. iii. 53. 22.

⁸P. T. Srinivāsa Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 49.

⁹S.B. iii. 1. 2. 21, Eggeing's Translation, ii, p. 11.

¹⁰சுட்டிரைச்சி. ¹¹சுட்டிரைச்சி. ¹²சுட்டிரைச்சி. ¹³பட்டிரைச்சி. ¹⁴சென்ஜால். ¹⁵வரி. ¹⁶சென்ஜால். ¹⁷சென்னல்.

*sol*¹, *iyavai*², *aivanam*;³ paddy three years old and very healthy eating, *asam*⁴; *pongali*⁵, was paddy not dusted. Ordinarily paddy was boiled before it was husked; this was called *puṇḡgalarisi*⁶, and as the health-giving vitamins and the muscle-building rice germs are best preserved in this form of rice, it was most widely eaten. Raw rice was called *pachchaiarisi*⁷. Well pounded rice cleaned well of bran was called *kuttalarisi*⁸, or *avaiyal*⁹ and one not very well cleaned was *koṭiyalarisi*¹⁰. The chief way of cooking rice was to boil it in water. As boiled rice was the principal food it had very many names, *adiṣil*¹¹, *amalai*¹², *amuku*¹³, *ayini*¹⁴, *avi*¹⁵, *aviḷ*¹⁶, *aḷuppu*¹⁷, *uṇa*¹⁸, *uṇḍi*¹⁹, *uṇ*²⁰, *kūḷ*²¹, *ṣadi*²², *ṣadam*²³, *ṣonri*²⁴, *ṣoyu*²⁵, *tuppu*²⁶, *tōri*²⁷, *parukkai*²⁸, *pāttu*²⁹, *piṣi*³⁰, *pugarvu*³¹, *puḷukkal*³², *puḷkai*³³, *pommal*³⁴, *porugu*³⁵, *maḍai*³⁶, *miṣai*³⁷, *midavai*³⁸, *mūrai*³⁹, *valsi*⁴⁰.

Rice boiled along with pulses was called *poṅgal*⁴¹. The human palate insistently demands variety in the matter of cooking: other preparations of rice to meet this demand were *kaḷi*⁴², *kūḷ*⁴³, *tulavai*⁴⁴, different forms of porridge, *kañji*⁴⁵, gruel, *nīrāram*⁴⁶, rice-water, *toṣai*⁴⁷, *aḍai*⁴⁸, different forms of rice-bread. *Por*⁴⁹ parched rice, was another favourite food. Cakes were called *viragu*⁵⁰ or *paṇiyōram*⁵¹, such as *appam*⁵², *piṭṭu*⁵³, *akkulli*⁵⁴, *aṇḍagai*⁵⁵, *ilaiyaḍai*⁵⁶, *nolai*⁵⁷, *mellada*⁵⁸, *pollai*⁵⁹, *poli*⁶⁰, *maṇḍigai*⁶¹, *iḍi*⁶², *saḥkulli*⁶³, *nuvanai*⁶⁴, *ochchai*⁶⁵, *tuvai*⁶⁶, *ṣiḍai*⁶⁷, *vaḍai*⁶⁸. For some of these other grains than rice, such as *uḷundu*⁶⁹, *eḷ*⁷⁰, and many pulses were also used.

The grains eaten varied from region to region. Thus *varagu*⁷¹, *Paspalum trumentaceum*, *ṣamai*⁷², panicum, *mudirai*⁷³, beans and lentils, were eaten in Mullai; the mountain-rice called *aivanam*⁷⁴, *tinai*⁷⁵, *Panicum italicum*, *mūṅgilariṣi*⁷⁶, bamboo rice, in Kuṛiṇji; *ṣennel*⁷⁷ and *vennel*⁷⁸ red rice and white rice, in Marudam; in Pālai they ate whatever they could get by pillage and in Neydal, whatever they could barter for fish and salt.

Other things eaten were honey, *teṇ*⁷⁹, which was also called *navavu*⁸⁰ *narai*⁸¹, *piḷi*⁸², *maṭṭu*⁸³, *tadu*⁸⁴, *pāgu*⁸⁵ chiefly eaten in Kuṛiṇji,

- 1 செளல். 2 இப்பை. 3 இலையம். 4 அசம். 5 புழுந்தலரிசி. 6 பச்சை ரிசி.
8 குத்தலரிசி. 9 அகையல். 10 கொழுலரிசி. 11 குடிசில். 12 அம்பை. 13 அமுது. 14 அயினி.
15 அயில். 16 அயிலம். 17 அமுப்பு. 18 உண்டு. 19 உண்ட. 20 உண்டு. 21 உண்ட. 22 உண்ட.
23 உண்ட. 24 உண்ட. 25 உண்ட. 26 உண்ட. 27 உண்ட. 28 உண்ட. 29 உண்ட. 30 உண்ட.
31 உண்ட. 32 உண்ட. 33 உண்ட. 34 உண்ட. 35 உண்ட. 36 உண்ட. 37 உண்ட. 38 உண்ட.
39 உண்ட. 40 உண்ட.

முடிந்ததை

முரணை போதிய முரிய வரி

விசுவன சிமிந்த சிவலமை முருக்கல்.

Porunarāyruṇḍai, 112-14.

Rice grains, whole and unbroken, without lines on its surface like the tender buds of the mullai, *Jasminum trichotomum*, cooked so that each grain looked like a finger and was not sticking to the other grains. Cakes made of rice are thus described.

சுரை

செய்யல் துருவின் வீரகு.

Ibid. 107-8.

Sweet cakes skilfully made of variegated shapes.

- 41 பொருக்கல். 42 தனி. 43 உழை. 44 துழை. 45 கருவி. 46 தாரம். 47 தேரை. 48 அடை.
49 பொரு. 50 வீரகு. 51 பணியாரம். 52 நப்பம். 53 பட்டி. 54 அகிலுலி. 55 அண்டை.
56 இலையடை. 57 கொலை. 58 மெல்லடை. 59 பொல்லடை. 60 பொலி. 61 மண்டை. 62 இடி.
63 சர்க்குலி. 64 துண்டை. 65 துண்டை. 66 துண்டை. 67 துண்டை. 68 துண்டை. 69 துண்டை. 70 துண்டை.
71 துண்டை. 72 துண்டை. 73 துண்டை. 74 துண்டை. 75 துண்டை. 76 துண்டை. 77 துண்டை. 78 துண்டை.
79 துண்டை. 80 துண்டை. 81 துண்டை. 82 துண்டை. 83 துண்டை. 84 துண்டை. 85 துண்டை.

tēn and *tinai ma*¹ being a favourite combination; *vellam*², *akkāram*³ jaggery, was substituted for honey in Marudam, sugar was not freely used, it being originally a product imported from China; there is no *idukuri* name for it in Sanskrit or Tamil; Sanskrit *sarkkara* (whence European names of sugar are derived) as well as Tamil *ayir*,⁴ sugar, originally meant sand and were, by metonymy, extended to jaggery refined into a powdery form. Jaggery was manufactured by boiling down the juice of the sugar-cane, *karumbū*⁵, also called *kalai*⁶, *kannal*⁷, *vēlai*⁸, to molasses, *tēlai*⁹, *tēnpāgu*¹⁰, *kuḷambu*¹¹, *anam*,¹² and cooled in pots or wooden moulds, *achchu*.

Milk and milk products were used largely. The chief milk products were *ēdu*¹³, cream, *ṭayir*¹⁴, *perugu*¹⁵, *musaru*¹⁶, curdled milk, *mōr*¹⁷, *arumbam*¹⁸, *alai*¹⁹, *machchigai*²⁰, *muṣar*²¹, curdled milk from which butter has been churned out, *venney*²², *venkaṭṭi*²³, butter, and *ney*²⁴, ghi. It is curious that though ghi is clarified butter, the name for the latter is derived from the former, for *venney* is but white ghi. The cause of this order of naming the original article from the derived one is not quite clear; probably as butter cannot keep without getting rancid in tropical climates, it was never stored, but immediately after it was churned out, it was turned into ghi and the necessity for a name for the intermediate product was not felt for a long time.

That in the matter of food Aryan India and Tamil India had absolutely the same customs is proved by the fact that meat of all kinds was eaten both in the North and the South and by the following account of Arya food, other than meat. 'Of the animal food derived from the living animal, milk²⁵ sometimes mixed with honey²⁶ brought by toiling bees²⁷, ghi²⁸, butter²⁹ and curds³⁰ were consumed. Yava is frequently mentioned in the sense of corn in general or barley. (Wheat and barley were the grains used by the Aryas in addition to the South Indian ones). Rice, barley, beans and sesamum were the chief vegetable foodstuffs of the day.³¹ Grain was eaten parched³² and made into cakes³³ or boiled in water³⁴ or in milk.³⁵ Meal boiled with curd into Karambha³⁶ and gruel,³⁷ i.e., parched meal boiled in milk were other forms of food. . . . As now hot freshly cooked food was preferred³⁸ to cold food. Fruits were also eaten.³⁹ Food was served on leaf-platters,⁴⁰ the lotus leaf being commonly used for the purpose. Skins filled with honey⁴¹ or curds, jars⁴² of honey,⁴³ rice husked by servant-girls⁴⁴ and stored in earthen vessels⁴⁵ and flour obtained by grinding corn in mill stones,⁴⁶ were stocked in houses.⁴⁷ This shows that the difference between Arya and Dasyu was neither racial nor cultural but only one of cult.

¹தேனுந் தினைமாயும். ²வல்லம். ³அக்காரம். ⁴அயிர். ⁵சுருப்பு. ⁶கைழை. ⁷கண்ணல். ⁸கேழம்.
⁹தேநல். ¹⁰தேன்பரகு. ¹¹குழம்பு. ¹²ஆணம். ¹³ஈடு. ¹⁴தயிர். ¹⁵பெருகு. ¹⁶முசுரு.
¹⁷மோர். ¹⁸அரும்பம். ¹⁹அலை. ²⁰மச்சிதை. ²¹முசர். ²²வெண்ணெய். ²³வெண்கட்டி. ²⁴நெய்.
²⁵R. V. x. 49, 10. ²⁶R. V. vii. 4, 8. ²⁷R. V. x. 106, 9.
²⁸R. V. iv. 58. ²⁹Sarpis, A. V. ix. 6, 41. ³⁰R. V. vi. 57, 2.
³¹A. V. vi. 140, 4. ³²Dhānā, R. V. iii. 35, 3.
³³Apūpam, R. V. iii. 52, 7; Puroḍāsam, A. V. xii. 4, 35.
³⁴Odanam, A. V. iii. 34, 35. ³⁵R. V. viii. 66, 10. ³⁶A. V. iv. 7, 2.
³⁷Mantha, A. V. x. 6, 2. ³⁸R. V. x. 79, 3. ³⁹R. V. i. 90, 8.
⁴⁰A. V. viii. 10, 27. ⁴¹R. V. iv. 45, 3, 4. ⁴²R. V. vi. 49, 18.
⁴³R. V. i. 117, 6. ⁴⁴A. V. xii. 3, 13.
⁴⁵A. V. vi. 142, 1. ⁴⁶Drishat, A. V. ii. 31, 1.
⁴⁷P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 49.

products of the tops of hills (such as sandal, *agil*, gold, gems, etc.).¹ Of the hunters it is said :

‘ They drink the sweet rice-liquor, *toppi*, brewed in their houses ; they cut in the open field the strong bull and eat its meat. The drum faced with folded hides sounds and they lift the left arm, strong with the constant bending of the bow, place it around the right side and dance all day with glee.’²

The food of the *Āyar* is thus described :—

‘ Early in the morning when the thick darkness begins to disappear and birds rise from their sleep, *Idaiyar* women ply with the rope the churning-rod, *mattu*,³ with a noise like the grunt of a tiger ; they churn the milk with folded crust, having been curdled by the curds reserved for the purpose, *uṟai*,⁴ which looks like the white mushroom, and remove the butter ; they place a pad of flowers, *summāḍu*⁵, on their heads and stand thereon a pot of buttermilk, whose mouth is sprinkled with drops of curds and sell it in the mornings. They are dark of skin ; at their ears dangle earrings ; their shoulders are like the bamboo ; their hair is short and wavy. They feast their relatives with rice bartered for buttermilk. Then they sell ghi and buy gold and milch buffaloes and cows and calves. If you stay with the *Idaiyar* with hanging lips, they will feast you with *tinai*,⁶ which looks like the young of crabs, boiled with milk. Their strong feet are scarred with constant wearings of sandals ; their hands lean on sticks with which they cruelly beat the cattle ; and are horny with handling the axes which fell trees ; their shoulders, scarred and hairy by carrying *Kāvaḍis*⁷ with double hanging loops ; their hair, smelling because they wipe the head with hands full of milk-drops. They wear garlands of mixed flowers, *Kalambagam*,⁸ plucked from trees and plants growing in the forests ;

¹ ஏறித் தருக மிலக்குமலைத் தாரமொடு
வேப்பப்பெயல் விளையுட் டேக்கட்டேறல்
குறைவின்றி பருகி கறவுமகிழ்த்து வைகறைப்
பழஞ்செருக் குற்றதும் மணத்த நீர்
வருவி தந்த பழஞ்சிதை வெண்கரம்
வருவிசை நவிர்த்த கடமாள் கொழுக்குறை
முனவுமாந் தெரலைச்சிய பைக்நிணப் பிளவை
பிணவுகாய் முடுக்கிய தடியொடு விரைஇ
வெண்புடைக் கொண்ட துய்த்தலைப் பழனி
விளையுவிட கலத்த மரமோ ராகக்
கழைவளச் செல்லி னரியுலை பூழ்த்து
வழையமை சாரல் கமழத் துழைஇ
கடமல ரணித்த காரிறு முச்சிக்
குறமக னாகிய வரலவிழ் வல்லி
பகமலி யுவகை யர்வமொ டுரைஇ
மகமுறை தடுப்ப மனைதொறும் பெருகுவீர்.

Malaiapaḍukaḍam, 170-185.

² இல்லாடு கள்ளின் நோப்பி பருகி
மல்லன் மன்றத்து மதவிடை கெண்டி
மடிவாய்த் தண்ணுமை கடுவட் டிலைப்பச்
டிலைகவி வெறுத்தேர னோச்சி வலன்வனையூகப்
பகன் மகிழ் துங்கும்.

Perumbāṇṇṟruppaḍai, 142-146.

they wear a single cloth which fits closely with the body, and eat porridge.¹

The food of *marudam* is thus described:—

'The *śulai*² (pulp) of the Jack-fruit, sweet and fragrant, the fruits of the mango of many forms, and beautiful *kay*³ (unripe fruit) of numerous shapes, (like the plantain, the *pāgal*⁴, and the brinjal), other fruits, (like the plantain and the cashew), leaf-curries of leaves, curled, thin, beautiful, growing on creepers which grow abundantly in the rainy season, crystals of sugar made from boiled sugar, and meat cooked together with big tubers which grow down and rice boiled in milk, sweet to eat, were served.'⁵

Fire for cooking and other purposes was made by churning wood.

The forester made fire by churning one piece of wood on another, as he does even to-day in forests remote from places where matches are sold. This is referred to in 'the fire which he churned,'⁶ 'the lamp lighted from a fire, churned by hunters with dry wood brought by elephants.'⁷ In the plains, they kept up a perpetual fire in fire-pots,

¹ கள்ளிருள் விடியற் புள்ளெழும் போகிப்
புலிகுரன் மத்த மொலிப்ப வாங்கி
யாம்பி வானமுதி முன்ன கூம்புமுறை
புறையமை தீர்த்தவிர் கலக்கி துறைதேறித் து
புகர்வாய்க் குழிசி பூஞ்சுமட்ட டிரீஇ
காண்மோர் மாறு கண்மா மேனிச்
சிதருமை துயல்வரும் காதிற் பனைத்தோட்
குறுகெறித் கொண்ட கூந்த லாய்மக
எண்ணிலி புணவிற் கிண்புட னருத்தி
கெய்விலைக் கட்டிப் பசும்பொன் கொள்ளா
ளெருமை கல்லாண் கருகாரு பெறுஉ
மடிவாய்க் கோவலர் குடிவயிற் சேப்பி
விருக்கினை னென்றின் திற்பார்ப் பன்ன
பசுத்தினை மூரல் பாலொடும் பெறுகுவிற்
தொடுதோன் மரீஇய வடுவாழ் கோனடி
விழுத்தன் னேறிய மழுத்தின் வன்னை
புறிக்கா லுர்த்த மறுப்படு மயிர்ச்சுவன்
மேரம்பு நுணர்த்த வேரி யோங்குமிசைக்
கோட்டவுல் கொடியவுல் விரைஇக் காட்ட
பல்பூ மிடைத்த படலைக் கண்ணி
யொன்றை மருடுக்கைக் கூழா ரிடையன்

Perumbāṇṇaruppaḍai, 155-175.

² சூலை, ³ காய். ⁴ பாகல்.

⁵ சேற கரற்றும் பவலின் சூலையும்
வேறுபடக் கவினிய தேமால் கனியும்
பல்வேறுவித காயும் பழனும்
கொண்டல் வளர்ப்பக் கொடியிடுபு கவினி
மெய்பினி யவிக்ந்த குறுமுறி யடகு
மயிர்தியன் றன்ன திஞ்சேறற்க் கடினையும்
புகழ்ப்படப் பண்ணிய பேருன் சோறும்
இஞ்செல விக்ந்த கிழங்கொடு பிறவு
யின் சோற தருகர்

Maduraikkāñji, 526-535.

⁶ தான் னெலி தீ.

Puṇam, 150.

⁷ யானை தந்த முனிர விறகிற்
காணவர் பொத்திய னெலிதீ வினக்கு.

Ibid., 247.

kumpatti,¹ into which was poked a *śulundu*,² stalk sometimes tipped with sulphur.

Salt was manufactured on a large scale. Salt-fields have several names: *uppalam*,³ *alakkar*,⁴ *uvarkkalam*,⁵ *uvalagam*,⁶ *kaḷi*.⁷ These names prove that salt-manufacture was an extensive industry, a fact which we could have inferred otherwise also, because the large use of vegetable food and especially of curries of innumerable kinds and of the many varieties of pickles to tempt the palate and satisfy its craving and to render rice and pulses tasty, requires the free use of salt.

The food of Northern and Southern India has remained unchanged for five thousand years and more. But the necessities of modern commerce have begun to alter it in many respects. Old ways of preparing foodstuffs and cooking them are giving way to new ones; the old methods of boiling and pounding paddy with the hand preserved the proteids and vitamins necessary for health and strength; but the new methods of hulling by machinery and polishing unboiled paddy are giving rise to the widespread diseases of civilization—tuberculosis and diabetes and to general enfeeblement. The old custom of eating leaf-curry and fruits cooked with their skins is giving way to modern refinements in cookery, and tinned provisions are taking the place of freshly made ones, so that the health of the people is steadily degenerating. The old forms of food were the result of thousands of years of experience, whereas the new ones, supposed to raise the standard of living, are really refined methods of committing slow suicide.

AGRICULTURE

Says Prof. G. Elliot Smith, 'I suppose most people would be prepared to admit that the invention of agriculture was the beginning of civilization. It involved a really settled society and the assurance of a food supply. Hence it created the two conditions without which there could have been no real development of arts and crafts and the customs of an organized form of society.'⁸ Prof. Smith is of opinion that agriculture was developed in Egypt with the sowing of barley about ten thousand years ago and thence spread to other parts of the world. At about the same or perhaps a few millenniums earlier, as stone tools testify, the cultivation of paddy and the weaving of cotton began in the plains of South India. Hence the rise of Indian agriculture was not consequent on its development in Egypt.

Agriculture was the main industry of Ancient India, as it is to-day. It was carried on chiefly in the lower reaches of rivers where irrigation by means of canals is possible. Thus in the *Śoḷa* country, *Śonādu*,⁹ the fertile delta of the *Kāviri*, even to-day the granary of South India and the island of Ceylon, was the main scene of agricultural operations. In the *Pāṇḍya nāḍu*, in the valleys of the *Vaigai* and the *Tāmraparṇi* wet cultivation was carried on. In the *Śēra nāḍu* which looked up to the sky for irrigation, the strip of coast west of the ghats where the rain it raineth every day during the monsoons, was devoted to this early industry of Indian man. In

¹ கும்பட்டி.

² சுலுந்து.

³

⁴ அலக்கர்.

⁷ காளி.

⁸ *Nature*, Jan. 15, 1927, p. 8.

⁹ செரநாடு.

other parts of the country there were small patches of Marudam, where rain-water straight from the sky, carried away by hill torrents, was stored and utilized for the raising of grains or vegetables. Where water supply was not on a generous scale, were raised grains and other crops which did not require a constantly wetted field to grow in. Hence cultivated land was divided into *nansey*,¹ rice-growing field and *punsey*,² where other grains grow. Uncultivated land was *tarišu*.³ *Sey*,⁴ the common element of *nansey*, and *punsey*, means a field as well as a particular area of land. It also means red and perhaps the word acquired the meaning of a field in the districts covered with red ferruginous clay. *Nansey*, therefore, originally meant a good field and *punsey*, a bad field. Cultivated land was partitioned into fields. The field had numerous names: *vayal*,⁵ *sey*, *aganī*,⁶ *kambalai*,⁷ *kaḷani*,⁸ *kaidai*,⁹ *kottam*,¹⁰ *seru*,¹¹ *tadi*,¹² *paṇai*,¹³ *paṇnai*,¹⁴ *paḷanam*,¹⁵ *pānal*,¹⁶ *pulam*; ¹⁷ a small field was *kundil*,¹⁸ *patti*.¹⁹ The large number of synonyms for *vayal*, was due to the fact that agriculture was the chief occupation of the people. Agriculture itself was called *velāṇmai*,²⁰ the *āṇmai*,²¹ lordship, of *vel*,²² land, *Velalar*,²³ (a word different in origin from *vellalar*)²⁴ were landowners, cultivators, *velāṭṭi*,²⁵ being the feminine gender of the same. Owners of extensive tracts of land were called *vel*, *velir*; there were *kurunilamanar*, petty chiefs. After the Ārya social organization was imposed on Tamil India, *Velalar* were given the name of *pūvaiśyar*, but the name has not stuck to them, for though they were technically Vaiśyas, the privileges of Vaiśyas were not really extended to them. *Velāṇmai* was considered the noblest of occupations; because the possession of grains conduces to the development of generosity. For, whereas other forms of wealth, especially minted metal, can be hoarded jealousy and will, if put out to interest, grow infinitely more and more, wealth in the form of food-grains will deteriorate if hoarded; it will either be destroyed by vermin or will rot; so the man who has a rich store will be naturally prompted to give it away to the poor and the starving. Hence India, the land of extensive agriculture, has become the land of unstinted charity; hence *velāṇmai* has become in Tamil synonymous with *iḡai*,²⁶ (lit, gift), also *koḍai*.²⁷ The *Velalar* were, by right of their instincts of charity, the nobles of the land and hence the characteristics of *velalar*, *velāṇmai māṇḍar iyalbu*,²⁸ have been described as ten; viz, (1) *āṇaiṇai nīṇṇal*,²⁹ keeping an oath, (2) *alindōrai nīṇṇal*,³⁰ raising up the fallen, (3) *kaikkadanāṇṇal*,³¹ being obliging, (4) *kaṣivagattunmai*,³² having compassion, (5) *okkalpoṇṇal*,³³ supporting relatives, (6) *śvāmuyarchi*,³⁴ perseverance, (7) *manniṇṇaiṇṇal*,³⁵ paying taxes, (8) *Oṇṇumaikoḍal*,³⁶ being peaceable, (9) *virundu*,³⁷ *puṇḍandarudal*, hospitality, (10) *tirundiyaṇṇal*,³⁸ correct conduct. Of this list of virtues belonging to the Tamil farmer, *śvāmuyarchi*, ceaseless toil, is the necessary result of rice-cultivation; for more than other food-grains rice requires unceasing work

¹நன்செய். ²புன்செய். ³தரிசு. ⁴செ. ⁵வயல். ⁶அகணி. ⁷கம்பலை. ⁸கடணி. ⁹கைடை. ¹⁰கோட்டம். ¹¹செறி. ¹²தடி. ¹³பனை. ¹⁴பண்ணை. ¹⁵பழனம். ¹⁶பாளல். ¹⁷புலம். ¹⁸குண்டில். ¹⁹பாத்தி. ²⁰வேளாண்மை. ²¹ஆண்மை. ²²வேள். ²³வேளாளர். ²⁴வேளாளர். ²⁵வேளாட்டி. ²⁶சொகை. ²⁷கொடை. ²⁸வேளாண்மை மாந்தர் இயல்பு. ²⁹ஆண் வழி நிற்பல். ³⁰நுழிச்சொரை நிறுத்தல். ³¹கைக்கட ஆற்றல். ³²கவிகததுண்மை. ³³ஒக்கல் போற்றல். ³⁴ஒவரமுயற்சி. ³⁵மன்னிதைகருதல். ³⁶ஒத்தமைகோடல். ³⁷விருந்த புத்தந்தல். ³⁸திருத்திபொருக்கம்.

for several months in the year, patient endurance of the rheumatic pains, chills and other ills due to standing upto the knees in water and trudging on wet sticky clay; this has made the Indian farmer a model of unfailing patience and enduring perseverance, and contributed to the development of what is mis-called fatalistic acceptance of misfortune. When the harvest was over and his granaries filled, he either gave himself up to the festivities of the post-harvest season, eating and drinking, singing and dancing, decorating his person with flowers and love-making developed as a fine art, or to martial exercises. In every village there was a field, *kaḷam*,¹ set apart for these purposes.² Another virtue of the farmer was his readiness to pay the king's taxes. All the world over, people are unwilling to pay taxes and many regard it almost as a virtue to evade payment of taxes. How is it then that the ancient Tamil landowner was differently constituted to modern men? The reason of this was the fact that taxes were payable in kind. A man with a well-filled granary easily parts with a portion of his abundance, all the more so because wealth in grain does not increase, but decreases with keeping; but it is hard to part with specie, as it will keep all right for any length of time, and, if properly invested, barren metal will breed as fast as cattle and sheep, as Shylock well knew. Paying taxes in gold and silver is more difficult, especially if the purse is as ill-filled as generally the Indian farmer's purse is and if one has to borrow for paying taxes.

All the other virtues of the Vellālar are but different forms of charity. It has already been explained how one who has a large store of cereals is easily induced to enjoy the pleasure of seeing his fellow-men feed on his substance. Numerous poetical names signifying *vēlālar* exist. They are *maṇmagal pudalvar*,³ sons of the earth-goddess, *vaḷamaiyar*,⁴ the flourishing, *kaḷamar*,⁵ owners of fields, *maḷlar*,⁶ the strong, *kāviriṭṭalvar*,⁷ sons of the Kāviri, *uḷavar*,⁸ tillers, *mēḷiyar*,⁹ ploughmen, *ērinuḷḷar*,¹⁰ those that live by the plough, *iḷango*,¹¹ prince, *pinnavar*,¹² perhaps those that are behind *mannavar*,¹³ *perukkālār*,¹⁴ those that increase wealth, or those that utilize the food, *vinaiṇar*,¹⁵ toilers.

There was a wealth of vocabulary attached to each detail of agricultural operations. Ploughing was *uḷavu*,¹⁶ *toyvil*,¹⁷ hoeing, *kottudal*,¹⁸ trampling, *uḷakkudal*,¹⁹ *midittal*,²⁰ *madidal*,²¹ manure,

¹ களம்.

² மன்னர் குழியை விழவி னானு

மகளிர் தழீஇய துண்கை யானும்

யானும் கானேன் மான்டக் கோன

யானுமோ ராகென மகனே வெண்ணக்

கோக லிலக்கு வனெ கெழித்த

படுகெழு குரிசிலுமோ ராகென மகனே

Kuṇḍogai, 31.

I have searched for him in the places where heroes congregate (for martial exercises); and where women gather for the *tunāṅgai* but have not seen the magnificent hero; hence I am but a woman of the theatre *āḍukaḷam* (ஆடுகலம்); the great hero too who has caused my bright bent bangles cut from conch shell to slip, is also a man of the theatre.

³ மன்னமகன் புதல்வர். ⁴ வளமையர். ⁵ களமர். ⁶ மன்னர். ⁷ காவிரிப்புதல்வர். ⁸ உழவர். ⁹ மேழியர். ¹⁰ ஏரிசீலவாழ்கர். ¹¹ இளங்கோ. ¹² புன்னவர். ¹³ மன்னவர். ¹⁴ பெருக்காரன். ¹⁵ வினைஞர். ¹⁶ உழவு. ¹⁷ தொல்பில். ¹⁸ கோத்துதல். ¹⁹ உழக்குதல். ²⁰ மிதித்தல். ²¹ மடித்தல்.

eru,¹ *uram*,² *kuppai*,³ *kūlam*,⁴ and so on. Different names were given for the fields other than that used for wet cultivation. A garden was *tōttam*,⁵ *iudavai*,⁶ *paḍappai*,⁷ *iōppu*,⁸ *sōlai*,⁹ *taṇḍalai*¹⁰ (flower-garden), *kollai*,¹¹ (generally a kitchen-garden behind a house). High land was *tagar*,¹² *tarāy*,¹³ *mēḍu*,¹⁴ *ōṅgal*,¹⁵ *karu*,¹⁶ *kuppai*,¹⁷ *kūval*,¹⁸ *kuvai*,¹⁹ *suval*,²⁰ *tiḍar*,²¹ *tiṭṭu*,²² *tiṭṭai*,²³ *paḍar*,²⁴ *miṣai*,²⁵ *vallai*,²⁶ *vanbal*,²⁷ *murambu*:²⁸ this was so variously named, probably because it gave much trouble to the cultivator who had to level it before tilling it. The low land was also variously named, *paḷlam*,²⁹ *aval*,³⁰ *iḷivu*,³¹ *kiḷakku*,³² *kīl*,³³ *kūḷi*,³⁴ *kūval*,³⁵ *ṇēḷḷal*,³⁶ *tāḷvu*,³⁷ *paḍugar*,³⁸ *payambu*.³⁹

The chief implement of the farmer was the plough; so he lovingly gave it numerous names, *kalappai*,⁴⁰ *idai*,⁴¹ *uḷupaḍai*,⁴² *kalanai*,⁴³ *ṇāṇṇil*,⁴⁴ *toḍuppu*,⁴⁵ *paḍai*,⁴⁶ *paḍaivāḷ*.⁴⁷ The ploughshare was made of wood in the stone age and of steel in the iron age; both kinds are in use even to-day. The other important implement was the knife; it, too, had numerous names, *vāl*,⁴⁸ *uvai*,⁴⁹ *ēdi*,⁵⁰ *kaḍuttalai*,⁵¹ *tuvatti*,⁵² *naviram*,⁵³ *nāṭṭam*,⁵⁴ *vaṇṇam*,⁵⁵ *kuval*,⁵⁶ *kūḷir*;⁵⁷ short knives were called *kuṟumbiḍi*,⁵⁸ *surigai*,⁵⁹ one that could be bent into the handle, *sūri*.⁶⁰

An extensive system of irrigation was practised; rivers were furnished with a complete dam, *aṇai*.⁶¹ or a partial dam, *korambu*,⁶² and the water diverted into a *kāl*,⁶³ *kālvāy*,⁶⁴ or *vaykkāl*.⁶⁵ Or water was raised from ponds or wells by means of an *ēṟṟam*⁶⁶ or *kabilai*⁶⁷ or *iyaikudai*⁶⁸. The latter was the most common means of raising water and had numerous names, *ambi*,⁶⁹ *iḍār*,⁷⁰ *iyaivai*,⁷¹ *kārambi*,⁷² *kīḷar*,⁷³ *pīḷar*,⁷⁴ *puṭṭil*,⁷⁵ *pūṭṭai*,⁷⁶ *paṭṭai*,⁷⁷ and conducted by means of a sluice, *maḍai*,⁷⁸ to higher levels and distributed to fields.

Here is a description of ploughing.—‘The plough men, who raise food for many people, yoke trained oxen to the plough, whose front looks like the mouth of a female elephant, press it on the ground so that the ploughshare which looks like the face of the iguana, is buried in the earth. They plough round and round, then sow seeds and then weed the field. When the harvest season is near, the quail with short feet and black neck with its young, white and smelling like the

- | | | | | | |
|------------|--------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1 எரு. | 2 உரம். | 3 குப்பை. | 4 களம். | 5 தேரட்டம். | 6 தட்டை. |
| 7 பட்டை. | 8 தேர்ப்பு. | 9 சேரல். | 10 தண்டை. | 11 கொல்லை. | 12 தகர். |
| 13 தரம். | 14 தோடு. | 15 துக்கல். | 16 கரு. | 17 குப்பை. | 18 குவால். |
| 19 குவை. | 20 சுவல். | 21 திடர். | 22 திட்டை. | 23 திட்டை. | 24 பட்டர். |
| 25 மிசை. | 26 வால். | 27 வன்பால். | 28 தூம்பு. | 29 பள்ளம். | 30 அலல். |
| 31 இழிவு. | 32 மெருகு. | In the Kāviri valley which slopes from West to East <i>kīl</i> and <i>kiḷakku</i> , lit. lowland and <i>mēḷ</i> , <i>merku</i> , highland came to mean East and West respectively. | 33 மெரு. | 34 குவால். | 35 குவால். |
| 37 தரம்பு. | 38 படுகர். | 39 பம்பு. | 40 கலப்பை. | 41 இதை. | 42 உருப்பை. |
| 43 கலலை. | 44 தூக்குல். | 45 தெரடுப்பு. | 46 படை. | 47 படைவார். | 48 வார். |
| 49 உவணி. | 50 எதி. | 51 எடுத்தலை. | 52 துவட்டி. | 53 கவிரம். | 54 காட்டம். |
| 55 வஞ்சம். | 56 குயல். | 57 குவிர். | 58 குறம்பி. | 59 கரிசை. | 60 குரி. |
| 61 அணை. | 62 கொரம்பு. | 63 கால். | 64 கால்வாய். | 65 வாய்க்கால். | 66 ஏற்றம். |
| 67 கபிலை. | 68 இறைக்கடை. | 69 அம்பி. | 70 இடர். | 71 இறைவை. | 72 காரம்பி. |
| 73 மெரு. | 74 பூரூ. | 75 பூட்டி. | 76 பூட்டை. | 77 பட்டை. | 78 உ. |

Kadamba flower—*Eugenia racemosa*,—and unable to fly about, afraid of the noise of the harvesters, settles in the forest near.¹

Agriculture in South India was carried on exactly as it was in Āryāvartta. 'They ploughed the ground,² the plough being drawn by two oxen³ fastened to the yoke with hempen or leather traces, and driven with a goad.⁴ The ploughshare was made of iron⁵ which supplanted the older ploughshare⁶ made of Khadira wood. The ploughmen sang merrily to the steers while ploughing.⁷ They bedewed the furrow with ghee and honey⁸ before sowing. The fields were watered by means of irrigation canals from wells⁹ or lakes, or by raising water from wells by means of wooden or metal buckets¹⁰ tied to a rope, pulled round a stone pulley. They kept away birds from robbing them of the growing corn¹¹ by uttering loud cries.'¹²

LOVE IN MARUDAM

The leisure enjoyed by agriculturists after the harvest was over led to the development of festivals among them, in which there was much singing, dancing and play-acting in order to pass idle moments. This again led to the growth of the institutions of harlotry, song-stresses and actresses; *viralīar*¹³ and *kūltīar*¹⁴ were experts in the refinements of love. Numerous poems of the class Marudam deal with this subject. 'The festival is over. The drums are silent. Do you want to know what she thought then? I will tell you her thoughts. This young woman wore a leaf-garment; with that garment dangling on her lap, she walked along the streets. Then arose in the streets a great sound of laughter, as loud as when the followers of the great bowman Ōri, the victorious warrior-lord of Kolli, who was killed by Malaiyamān Tirumuḍikāri, saw Kāri enter the incomparably long streets of Ōri. On hearing that sound of laughter, the fair ladies who wore bangles and the skins of whose bodies was like the tender leaf of the mango, feared that she would capture the hearts of their

குடிக்கை வலிச் செஞ்சு தழுவ
கடைசலில் பெருப்படை புதவியுடைய
பிடிவர வன்ன மடியார் காஞ்சி
துடுப்பு குறகு குக்கொழு மும்புளறித்
தொடுப்பெறித் தழுத துன்பு துடைவ
யரிபுரு பொழுதி விரியல் போடு
வண்ணக் கடம்பி னறமல ரன்ன
வளிரம் பின்ன தழிஇக் குறங்காந்
கறையணற் குறம்பூம் கட்கி சேக்கும்
வன்புலம்.

Perumbāṇṇṟuppaḍai, 197-206.

¹ R. V. x. 101, 3; x. 106, 2.

² R. V. iii. 17, 3; x. 101, 3.

³ A. V. iii. 17, 3.

⁴ A. V. viii. 20, 9.

⁵ A. V. i. 3, 7; iii. 13, 9; R. V. iii. 45, 3; vii. 49, 2, 4; x. 43, 7.

⁶ R. V. x. 101, 5, 7.

⁷ P. T. Srinivas Iyengar, *Life in Ancient India*, p. 23.

⁸ *திருவிட.*

⁹ A. V. iii. 25, 5; iv. 57, 4.

¹⁰ A. V. v. 6, 6.

¹¹ A. V. iii. 17, 9.

¹² R. V. x. 101, 5, 7.

¹³ R. V. x. 68, 1.

¹⁴ *உத்திய.*

husbands and guarded them from her wiles. I have failed in these attempts, and she has seduced my lover away from me.¹

More innocent incidents of love also belong to *Marudam*; such as the wailing of a wife when her husband has gone away to a far place after quarrelling with her. 'The sparrows whose wings are like the faded water-lily with petals shrunk and folded, and which reside in the roofs of houses, eat the paddy and the other grains spread for drying in the front yard of houses; they make holes in the slender filaments of flowers in the highway. They return to their beds in the roof where they sleep with their young ones. Do not the sad evening and the pains of separation exist where he has gone.'²

PASTURAGE

As agriculture was the chief industry of *Marudam*, pasturage was the chief industry of *Mullai*. The sheep, the goat, the cow, the ox, the buffalo were the chief domestic animals tended by the *Ayar*, herdsmen. Profusion of names for each of these as usual indicates the love the herdsmen felt for their wards. Thus the sheep was called *adu*,³ *udu*,⁴ *oruvu*,⁵ *turuvai*,⁶ *tullal*,⁷ *puruvai*,⁸ *veri*;⁹ the red variety *semmai*,¹⁰ *mottai*,¹¹ *udal*.¹² *elagam*,¹³ *pallai*,¹⁴ *kada*,¹⁵ *mai*,¹⁶ *koṟi*,¹⁷ *tagar*,¹⁸ *melagam*.¹⁹ The goat was called *vellādu*,²⁰ *kāṛādu*,²¹ *kochchai*.²² *vellai*,²³ *varkāli*;²⁴ *kurumbādu*,²⁵ from the wool of which *kurumbar* wove *kambli*s, was also called *varuṇḍai*,²⁶ *varaiyādu*.²⁷ The cow had naturally the largest variety of names, *ā*,²⁸ *paṣu*,²⁹ *kuram*,³⁰ *kural*.³¹ *kūlam*,³² *kovalam*,³³ *śurai*;³⁴ a useless cow was *sudai*;³⁵ a barren cow, *varchai*,³⁶ that which has yeaned once *kitti*,³⁷ *kirutti*.³⁸ The ox was *erudu*,³⁹ *iṟal*,⁴⁰ *iru*,⁴¹ *kunḍai*,⁴² *kūli*,⁴³ *koṭṭiyam*,⁴⁴ *śe*,⁴⁵ *ko*,⁴⁶ *nūpan*,⁴⁷ *paḡaḍu*,⁴⁸ *pāṇḍil*,⁴⁹ *pāṟal*,⁵⁰ *pullam*,⁵¹

¹ விழவு முழந்தன் னு முழவுக்குங்கின்
நெயன் குறித்தனன் கொலென்ற பாயிற்
நமை யணித்தலமரும் மல்குந் நெருவி
வினையோ ளிந்த வனைத்தற்குப் பழவிற்
லேரிக் கொன்ற வொருபெருங் தெருவிற்
சரி புக்க கோர புலம்போற்
கலென்றன்கு ளாகே வதற்கொண்ட
காகல் செரிய மாட்டி யாய்தொடி
பெயின்மர மேனி மகளிர்
விழுமாந் தனத்தங்கொழுநரைக் கரத்தே.

Nayirai, 320.

² ஆம்பற் பூவின் சாம்ப லன்ன
கம்பிய றெகர் மனைபுறை குளி
முன்றி லுணைக்கன் மரத்தி மன்றத்
தெருவி லுண்டரது குடைவன ளை
யில்லறைப் பள்ளித்தம் பிள்ளையொடு வநிடும்
புன்கண் மாலையும் புலம்பு
மின்றகொ ருழியவற் சென்ற கரட்டை.

Kurundagai, 46.

³ஆடு. ⁴உடு. ⁵ஒருவு. ⁶தருவை. ⁷தர்னல். ⁸புருவை. ⁹வெறி. ¹⁰செம்மறி. ¹¹மேரத்தை.
¹²உதர். ¹³ஏழகம். ¹⁴பச்சை. ¹⁵தர. ¹⁶மை. ¹⁷கொறி. ¹⁸தகர். ¹⁹மேழகம். ²⁰வெள்ளடு.
²¹சார்டு. ²²கொச்சை. ²³வெள்ளை. ²⁴வற்காவி. ²⁵குறம்பாடு. ²⁶வருடை. ²⁷வரையாடு.
²⁸ஆ. ²⁹பசு. ³⁰குரம். ³¹நாரல். ³²கலம். ³³கோவலம். ³⁴சுரை. ³⁵சதை. ³⁶வற்சை.
³⁷கிட்டி. ³⁸கருட்டி. ³⁹எருது. ⁴⁰இருல். ⁴¹ஏறு. ⁴²குண்டை. ⁴³கூனி. ⁴⁴கொட்டியம்.
⁴⁵சே. ⁴⁶கோ. In view of the fact that *kōṇ* was a pure Tamil word for a cowherd, I regard *kō* as independent of Sanskrit *go* the resemblance between the words being absolutely accidental. ⁴⁷துபம். ⁴⁸புங்கு. ⁴⁹பாண்டியல். ⁵⁰பாபல்.
⁵¹புலவம்.

paṇi,¹ *peṇṇam*,² *pōttu*,³ *mūri*,⁴ *viḍai*.⁵ Of these names *kalī*⁶ means breeding bull; those which were used by traders for bearing burden, (*poḍi*)⁷ were called *tūriyam*,⁸ *paḡaḍu*,⁹ and *pāṇal*.¹⁰ The buffalo was called *kavari*,¹¹ *kārā*,¹² *kārām*,¹³ *mūri*,¹⁴ *mēdi*; ¹⁵ *vaḍavai*,¹⁶ barren ones, *maimai*; ¹⁷ the bull calf of the buffalo, *kuḷavi*,¹⁸ *kaṇṇu*.¹⁹ Its cow-calf *a*,²⁰ *nāgu*; ²¹ the bull-buffalo, *umbal*,²² *ēru*,²³ *oruttal*,²⁴ *paḡaḍu*,²⁵ *pōttu*.²⁶ The udder of the cow and of the buffalo, *maḍi*,²⁷ *seruttal*; ²⁸ *māḍu*²⁹ was the general name of both the cow and the buffalo. Intimate acquaintance with animals developed a great love of them and the invention of a number of words relating to them. Thus beasts in general were called *vilāṅgu*,³⁰ *kuraṅgam*,³¹ *mā*,³² *mān*; ³³ their young ones, *kurulāi*,³⁴ *kuṭṭi*,³⁵ *pillai*,³⁶ *maṇi*,³⁷ *kaṇṇu*,³⁸ *kuḷavi*,³⁹ *pārppu*,⁴⁰ *magavū*.⁴¹ Hornless animals were called *kumaram*; ⁴² the horn was *ulavai*,⁴³ *koḍu*,⁴⁴ *maruppu*; ⁴⁵ the tail, *togai*,⁴⁶ *kūlam*,⁴⁷ *vēṣagam*.⁴⁸

TAME ANIMALS

The tame animals that were of use to man were *mān*,⁴⁹ deer, also named *ulai*,⁵⁰ *ēnam*,⁵¹ *śūnam*,⁵² *navvi*,⁵³ *piṇaimari*,⁵⁴ its male, *iralai*,⁵⁵ *ēru*,⁵⁶ *oruttal*,⁵⁷ *karumān*,⁵⁸ *kalai*,⁵⁹ *pulvāy*; ⁶⁰ its female, *piṇai*,⁶¹ its young, *ēni*,⁶² *kaṇṇu*,⁶³ *kuḷavi*,⁶⁴ *tannam*,⁶⁵ *paṇam*,⁶⁶ *pārppu*,⁶⁷ *maṇi*.⁶⁸ The ass *kaḷudai*,⁶⁹ besides the bullock, was a burden-bearer. The horse, *kudirai*,⁷⁰ was not a native of South India, and was imported in later times from Sind and Persia. The pig, *paṇṇi*,⁷¹ was another useful animal and was also named *ari*,⁷² *iruli*,⁷³ *cyuli*,⁷⁴ *ēnam*,⁷⁵ *karumā*,⁷⁶ *kaḷiṇu*,⁷⁷ *kānal*,⁷⁸ *kānmā*,⁷⁹ *kidi*,⁸⁰ *kiri*,⁸¹ *keḷal*,⁸² *koṭṭuma*,⁸³ *maimma*,⁸⁴ *mōlal*.⁸⁵

The dog first tamed by the hunter and then trained by the keeper of the cattle to watch the fold, was named, *nāy*,⁸⁶ *akkan*,⁸⁷ *aśulam*,⁸⁸ *aṇṇam*,⁸⁹ *eginam*,⁹⁰ *kukkan*,⁹¹ *kūran*,⁹² *śūnaṅgan*,⁹³ *ṇamali*,⁹⁴ *ṇāli*,⁹⁵ *tuttam*,⁹⁶ *pāsi*; ⁹⁷ its female, *pāṭṭi*,⁹⁸ *piṇai*,⁹⁹ *muduvai*; ¹⁰⁰ the pup, *kuṭṭi*,¹⁰¹ *kurulāi*,¹⁰² *pāṇal*; ¹⁰³ the cat was called *alavan*,¹⁰⁴ *indi*,¹⁰⁵ *odi*,¹⁰⁶ *pavanam*,¹⁰⁷ *pākkan*,¹⁰⁸ *pilli*,¹⁰⁹ *pūsai*,¹¹⁰ *pūṇai*,¹¹¹ *veruṅgu*; ¹¹² it was also poetically called, *iṇṇuḷi*,¹¹³ the house-tiger; the male cat was specially named *kaduvān*,¹¹⁴ *pōttu*; ¹¹⁵ the kitten, *kuṭṭi*,¹¹⁶ *pāṇal*,¹¹⁷ *pillai*.¹¹⁸

1. பூணி. 2. பெற்றம். 3. பேரத்து. 4. முரி. 5. விடை. 6. கலி. 7. பாநி. 8. துரிடம். 9. பகடு.
10. பாநம். 11. கவரி. 12. காசு. 13. காரம். 14. குரி. 15. மீது. 16. உடை. 17. மைமை. 18. குழவி.
19. கண்ணு. 20. அ. 21. காசு. 22. உப்பி. 23. ஏறு. 24. குருத்தல். 25. பகடு. 26. பேரத்து. 27. மடி.
28. செருத்தல். 29. மாடு. 30. மிலக்கு. 31. குருக்கம். 32. மா. 33. மான். 34. குருகை. 35. குட்டி.
36. பூனை. 37. மறி. 38. கன்று. 39. குழவி. 40. பச்சிப்பு. 41. மகவு. 42. குரூர். 43. உலகை. 44. பேரடு.
45. மருப்பு. 46. தோகை. 47. கூலம். 48. பைசம். 49. மரம். 50. உணம். 51. ஏனம். 52. குணம்.
53. கவலி. 54. பூனைமறி. 55. இரலை. 56. ஏ. 57. குருத்தல். 58. கருமான். 59. கலி. 60. புலகாய்.
61. பூனை. 62. உடை. 63. கன்று. 64. குழவி. 65. தன்மை. 66. பறம். 67. பச்சிப்பு. 68. மறி. 69. கருகை.
70. குறிஞ்சு. 71. பான். 72. அரி. 73. இஞ்சி. 74. ஏ. 75. ஏனம். 76. கருமான். 77. கலி. 78. கரையல்.
79. கரையம். 80. மடி. 81. மறி. 82. தோல். 83. தோட்டம். 84. மைமை. 85. மோழம். 86. காசு.
87. அக்கன். 88. அசைம். 89. அறம். 90. ஏனம். 91. குருக்கன். 92. கரையல். 93. கருக்கன். 94. குரலி.
95. குரலி. 96. தந்தம். 97. பாநி. 98. பாட்டி. 99. பூனை. 100. குடுவல். 101. குட்டி. 102. குருகை.
103. பாரம். 104. அலகை. 105. இஞ்சி. 106. இடி. 107. பவனம். 108. பாக்கன். 109. பில்லி.
110. பூசை. 111. பூசை. 112. கெருகு. 113. இறபுலி. 114. கடுகன். 115. பேரத்து. 116. குட்டி.
117. பாரம். 118. பூனை.

The other beasts familiar to the people were *anil*,¹ the squirrel, *karai*,² the bear, *kāṭṭa*,³ the wild cow, *kēri*,⁴ the mongoose, *kuraṅgu*,⁵ the monkey, *nari*,⁶ the jakal, *seṇṇai*,⁷ the wild dog, the *nāy*,⁸ or the *kōṇāy*,⁹ the wolf, *nīrnāy*,¹⁰ the beaver, *raviṭṭalai*,¹¹ the civet cat, *muṭṭanri*,¹² the porcupine, *maraimān*,¹³ the yak, *muṣu*,¹⁴ the ape, *muṇai*,¹⁵ the hare, *yānai*,¹⁶ the elephant.

The chief house-pests were *eli*¹⁷ the rat, *kāreli*,¹⁸ the black rat, *peruchchali*,¹⁹ the bandicoot, *mūnjūru*,²⁰ the mouse and the ubiquitous mosquito, *koṣu*,²¹ which was such a great nuisance as to receive a dozen other names, *aṣaval*,²² *aṇalam*,²³ *ulaṅgu*,²⁴ *ṣagal*,²⁵ *tummu*,²⁶ *tuḷal*,²⁷ *nilambi*,²⁸ *nulumbu*,²⁹ *nollal*,³⁰ *muṇal*,³¹ *valu*,³² *aṇal*,³³ *ī*,³⁴ the house-fly and *andu*,³⁵ insect found in stored grain. But the bed bug seems to be an import from abroad, for, it has but a *kāraṇapṭeyar*, i.e. *mūṭṭaiṭṭūchi*,³⁶ the bundle-insect.

BIRDS

There are many general names for birds *paṇavai*,³⁷ *kudīnai*,³⁸ *kurugu*,³⁹ *pul*,⁴⁰ their young ones, *kuṇju*,⁴¹ *pārppu*,⁴² the cry of birds *payir*,⁴³ their nest, *kaṭchi*,⁴⁴ *kuṇjurai*,⁴⁵ *kuḍambai*,⁴⁶ *kurambai*,⁴⁷ *kūndu*.⁴⁸ A flock of birds was called *tholūdi*,⁴⁹ the cries of a flock, *tuḷani*,⁵⁰ the beating of a birds' wings, *oṣanaittal*,⁵¹ *puḍaittal*,⁵² female birds are called *peḍai*,⁵³ *peṭṭai*,⁵⁴ *peḍai*,⁵⁵ the females of birds other than the gallinaceous fowl and the owl, *alagu*,⁵⁶ their males except in the case of the peafowl and the *elal*,⁵⁷ *seval*,⁵⁸ the cock of the peafowl and the *elal*, *pōttu*.⁵⁹ The food of birds and of some animals *irai*,⁶⁰ *undi*,⁶¹ *uṇai*,⁶² *uṭṭi*.⁶³

The following are names of some species of birds:—*anril*,⁶⁴ nightingale, *annam*,⁶⁵ swan *āndai*,⁶⁶ large eyed owl, *uḷḷān*,⁶⁷ snipe, *urkkuruvī*,⁶⁸ sparrow, *tūkkāṇṅuruvī*,⁶⁹ *kavudāri*,⁷⁰ partridge, *kavudam*,⁷¹ king-fisher, *kaḷugu*,⁷² eagle, *kakkai*,⁷³ crow, *nīrkkakkai*,⁷⁴ a diving water-bird, *kāḍai*,⁷⁵ quail, *kilī*,⁷⁶ parrot, *kuyil*,⁷⁷ cuckoo, *kurugu*,⁷⁸ village fowl, also *koḷi*,⁷⁹ another variety, *kūgai*,⁸⁰ large hooting owl, *kokku*,⁸¹ stork, *śadagam*,⁸² sky-lark, *śichchili*,⁸³ king-fisher, *sival*,⁸⁴ *paṇḍai*,⁸⁵ another species of partridge, *sembōttu*,⁸⁶ *nārai*,⁸⁷ heron, *parundu*,⁸⁸ kite, *purā*,⁸⁹ pigeon, *mayil*,⁹⁰ peafowl.

The love of nature and close observation of natural objects which was a great characteristic of the Tamils of ancient times are constantly revealed in early Tamil poems. On later Tamil Poetry the conventions of the later artificial Sanskrit Poetry wielded

1 அணல்.	2 கரடி.	3 காட்டர்.	4 கீரி.	5 குரங்கு.	6 கீரி.	7 செக்கரம்.	8 ஓசை.
9 செக்கரம்.	10 தீச்சரம்.	11 கரலிப்பிச்சர்.	12 முட்பன்றி.	13 மருமரன்.	14 முக.		
15 முயல்.	16 யானை.	17 எலி.	18 பெருச்சாணி.	19 கரகரலி.	20 முஞ்சு.	21 செக்க.	
22 அசை.	23 அஞ்சல்.	24 உலங்கு.	25 கல்.	26 தம்மு.	27 துள்ளல்.	28 நிலம்பி.	
29 துழம்பு.	30 கரர்ச்சல்.	31 முஞ்சு.	32 உலகு.	33 அஞ்சல்.	34 க.	35 அச்சு.	
36 முட்டைப்பூச்சி.	37 பறவை.	38 குஞ்சு.	39 குஞ்சு.	40 புள்.	41 குஞ்சு.	42 பாச்சு.	
43 பூச்சி.	44 கட்டி.	45 குஞ்சு.	46 குஞ்சு.	47 குரம்பை.	48 கண்டி.	49 தெரமுதி.	
50 குழவி.	51 குஞ்சு.	52 புடைத்தல்.	53 பம்படை.	54 பம்படை.	55 பம்படை.	56 பம்படை.	
57 அஞ்சு.	58 அஞ்சு.	59 பார்த்து.	60 இரை.	61 உண்டி.	62 உரை.	63 உரை.	
64 உண்டி.	65 அஞ்சு.	66 அஞ்சு.	67 உரை.	68 உரை.	69 உரை.	70 உரை.	
71 உரை.	72 உரை.	73 உரை.	74 உரை.	75 உரை.	76 உரை.	77 உரை.	
78 உரை.	79 உரை.	80 உரை.	81 உரை.	82 உரை.	83 உரை.	84 உரை.	
85 உரை.	86 உரை.	87 உரை.	88 உரை.	89 உரை.	90 உரை.		

great influence. Not so on the natural poetry of the earlier ages. To illustrate the keen observation of Fauna on the part of the poets, a few quotations are given. 'The pods of the *Phaseolus mungo* are like the red legs of the quail.'¹ 'The leaf of the *Caladium nymphaeolium* which grows on the hill, rich and waving, moved by the cold northwind in the month of Tai, resembles the ears of the elephant'.² 'The water-lily growing in deep pools resembles the back of the yellow-legged crane'³ The carp, afraid that the stork would eat it, ducked under the water, but found itself near the lotus and equally feared its bud.'⁴ 'The nightingale which dwells on the palmyra leaves cries gently.'⁵ 'In the cold weather the *Cassia* flower like ourselves gets golden dots and the twig of the *memecylon tinctorium* is filled with flowers and looks like the neck of a peacock.'⁶ 'The path traced by the claws of the crab will be extirpated by the waves of the sea.'⁷ 'The mountain from which honey-combs are hanging, as (the trappings from) the chariot.'⁸ 'The goat has a belly like the false skin of the flowering bean.'⁹ 'The flock of yellow legged fish-eating storks look like the pearls on the breast of Murugan when they fly in the red sky.'¹⁰ 'The shaggy head of the ñemai tree looks like the rows of flags on the royal elephant. The spiders' webs round the tree waved in the west wind that blew over the hill called Ōdai; the lean elephants mistook them for clouds and lifted their trunks to catch them and sounded like the *tumbu*¹¹ of the actors.'¹²

¹ பூழ்க்காலன்ன செங்காழமுகந்த. *Kurundogai*, 68.

² திலம்பிற சேம்பினலங்கல் வள்ளிலை
பெருங்கறிற் றச் செவியின் மானத்தைதித்
தன்வரல் வாடை தூங்குல்
கடம்பனி. *ib.* 76.

³ பைங்காற் கொக்கின் புன்புறத்தன்ன
குன்றெ ளாம்பல். *ib.* 122.

⁴ குருகொருக் குவித்த கொண்டை யயல்
துருகெழு தாமரை வான்முனை வெருகும். *ib.* 127.

⁵ மன்றலம் பெண்ணை மடல்சேர் வாழ்க்கை
யன்றிலும் பையென காழும். *ib.* 177.

⁶ கொன்றையம் பசவி
கம்போற் பசுக்குல் காலை
... .. காயரப் பூக்கெழு பெருகுவினை
மென்றியி வெருத்திற் தோன்றம். *ib.* 183.

⁷ அலவன் சுருகிற் வரித்த
வீர்மண வீர்கொறி சிதைய விழுமென
வுருமிசைப் புணரி. *ib.* 351.

⁸ நிரைசேர் நண்டேர் போலப்
பிரசக் தூக்குமலை. *ib.* 392.

⁹ பூக்கொடி யவரைப் பொய்யத என்ன
வுள்ளில் வலிற்ற வெண்ணை வெண்மறி,
Agam 104.

¹⁰ கொடுகேன் மாப்பினூம் போலச்
செய்வாய் வானத்தினடி மீனருத்தும்
பைங்காற் கொக்கினிரை பறை யுகப்ப. *ib.* 120.

¹¹ யானைக் கொண்டதுதிற் கொடிபோல
வலந்தலை ஞெமயத்து வலத்த திலம்பி
யோடைக்-குன்றத்துக் கோடையொடு தயல்வா
மழையென மருண்ட மம்மர் பலவுட
னையுகளி றெடுத்த கோயுடை செடுக்கை
தொகுசொற் கோடியர் தும்பிதுயிர்க்கும். *ib.* 111.

¹² தும்பு. a musical instrument.

'Green parrot with the red bill, who go on picking the bent stalks of the panicum, do not fear me; give up the fear that any one would threaten you for picking the stalks. When you have finished with them and are at leisure, attend to my wants; I join my palms and beg you to help me in this affair. If you go to your relatives who live in my lover's country, where grows the jack tree which bears abundant fruits, meet my lover who is the lord of this mountain and tell him that the young *Kurava* woman of the forest around this mountain is guarding the millet field to-day as usual.'¹

'The banyan tree bears many boughs full of fruits; to eat the fruit many birds crowd round the tree. Their cries resemble the sound of many musical instruments.'²

'The crowds of beets which have thin wings eat the honey, and after the honey is exhausted desert the flowers.'³

'The *āral*,⁴ lamprey, with nose like an ear of corn, creeps into the mud; the *vālai*,⁵ *Trichiurus lepturus*, which has a horn, moves tremulously on the water; the fishermen approach the tank which have flowers bright as the flame, the tortoise looks like the hollow-bowelled *kinai*,⁷ (the drum of the *marudam*); the gravid *vāral*,⁸ *Ophicephalus striatus*, is like the *nugumbu*⁹ of the palmyra; with it fights the *kaval*,¹⁰ carp, which shines like a spear.'

TREES AND PLANTS

The ancient Tamils distinguished and named innumerable trees, plants, shrubs and creepers and knew their properties. The pure Tamil names of a few trees alone will be here referred to: *achcham*,¹¹ *Coronilla grandiflora*, commonly called *agatti*,¹² probably after Agastya, *atti*,¹³ Indian fig, *anichchai*,¹⁴ a sensitive tree, *achcha*,¹⁵ *Diospyros ebenaster*, *atti*,¹⁶ *Bauhinia cernua*, *al*,¹⁷ the banyan, *itti*,¹⁸ *Ficus virens*, *ilandai*,¹⁹ jujube, *ilavam*,²⁰ the silk-cotton tree, *iluppai*,²¹ the long-leaved *Bassia*, *indu*,²² *Phoenix farinifera*, *usil*,²³ *Acacia pennata*, *eṭṭi*,²⁴

¹கொடுங்குரல் குறைந்த செவ்வாய்ப் பைம்பிலி
பஞ்சு லோம்பி யாற்பதல் கொண்டு
நின்னகுறை முடிந்த பின்றை பென்னுறை
செய்தல் கேண்மொல் கைதொழு திரப்பல்
பல்கோட் பலவின் சாலைவர்காட்டு
கின்னென் மருங்கிற் செறி யாயி
னம்மலை இழைவோர்க் குறைமதி விம்மலை
கானக் குறவர் மடமக
னோன் கால வரவின் னனவே. *Narṇai*, 102.

²கொம்பல முருஞ்சிய கோலி யாலத்துக்
கூடியத்தனை குரல்புணர் புன். *Maḷaiṇaḍuḱkaḍam*, 268-269.

³குண்டா துண்டு வடம்பூத் துறக்கு
மென்னிறை வண்டினம். *Maduraiḱkāñji*, 573.

⁴கதிர்க்குக் கரால் நீழ்ச்சேற வெளிப்பக்
கணைக்கோட்டு வான் மீதீர்ப் பிறழ்
கொரிப்பூம் பழை கொரித்துடன் வான்கு
ரகிக்குட ரிவின் யாமை மிவிரப்
பனைது கும்பன்ன கொழுநிற் வரலோ
டுறவே லன்ன வான் தயல்.

Puṇam, 249.

சூரல் கொடை. 7. இளை. 8. வரால். 9. வகுப்ப, perhaps the tender kernel of the fruit.
11. அச்சம். 12. அ. சத்தி. 13. ஆத்தி. 14. அனிச்சை. 15. ஆச்சா. 16. ஆத்தி
17. இலகை. 18. இலகை. 19. இலகை. 20. இலகை. 21. இலகை. 22. இலகை. 23. இலகை. 24. இலகை.

Strychnos nux vomica, *clumichchai*,¹ the lemon tree, *ḍmai*,² the mango, also *mā*,³ *kaḍambu*,⁴ *Eugenia racemosa*, *kaḍavu*,⁵ *Gyrocarpus jacquini*, *kaḍu*,⁶ the gall-nut tree, *kamugu*,⁷ the areca palm, *karuṅgali*,⁸ the ebony, *kaḷḷi*,⁹ *Euphorbia tirucalli*, *kāya*,¹⁰ *Memecylon tinctorium*, *kurundu*,¹¹ *konṣai*,¹² *Cassia*, *sandanam*,¹³ or *āram*,¹⁴ sandal-wood tree, *tengu*,¹⁵ cocoanut tree, *teḷḷu*,¹⁶ teak, *nāval*,¹⁷ the jambolan tree, *neli*,¹⁸ Indian gooseberry, *palā*,¹⁹ the jack tree, *panai*,²⁰ *palmyra*, *padiri*,²¹ *Bignonia chelonoides*, *pālai*,²² the iron-wood tree, *puḷi*,²³ the tamarind tree, *punnai*,²⁴ the Alexandrian laurel, *pūvaraṣu*,²⁵ the Portia tree, *pūvandi*,²⁶ the soapnut tree, *magil*,²⁷ a tree of very sweet smelling flower, *madaḷai*,²⁸ the pomegranate, *murungai*,²⁹ *Hyperanthera murunga*, *mūngil*,³⁰ the bamboo, *vāḷai*,³¹ *marudam*,³² *Terminalia alata*, *vanni*,³³ *Prosopis spiciigera*, *vilvam*,³⁴ *Crataeva religiosa*, *viḷa*,³⁵ the wood-apple, *vēṅgai*,³⁶ the *Pterocarpus bilobus vembu*,³⁷ the margosa tree. The names of smaller plants, and of different kinds of leaves and flowers are so numerous that it is not possible to catalogue them or even to mention the more familiar varieties. The unblown flower was called *arumbu*,³⁸ the parts of flowers, *idaḷ*;³⁹ *pūndē*;⁴⁰ young trees *nāṇu*;⁴¹ fruiting trees, *paḷiṇam*,⁴² trees with heart-wood inside, *āṇmaran*,⁴³ with heart-wood outside, *penmaram*,⁴⁴ branch, groups of trees without heart-wood, *ali*,⁴⁵ *veḷḷu*,⁴⁶; the synonyms of the word, tree, are very considerable in number. I will content myself with noting a few poetic images which show how keen was the observation of nature by the ancient Tamils:—

‘The gourd (*pārḷku*,⁴⁷) with round, white flowers grows along with the thin creeper *muṣuṇḍai*,⁴⁸ on shrubs.’⁴⁹

‘The hill country has bamboos which wave to and fro and its clear clouds spread the dew amidst the peacocks whose expanded tails shine like the sapphire.’⁵⁰

‘The forest land possesses the expanding jasmine, *laḷavu*,⁵¹ the broad November flower, *iṇṇi*,⁵² the mullai with the petals opened, the *iṇṇu*,⁵³ (clarifying-nut tree) which drops its flowers, the *konṣai*,⁵⁴ *Cassia*, whose flowers are like gold, the *kāya*,⁵⁵ whose flowers are like sapphire.’⁵⁶

‘The *kuravam*,⁵⁷ has flowered; the cold weather is gone; in the beautiful spring, in the river, a slender stream is running; the wide river with straight stretches of sand has its banks adorned with many

1 எதுமிச்சை. 2 துமை. 3 மர. 4 கடம்பு. 5 கடவு. 6 கடு. 7 கருகு. 8 கருகாசல். 9 கள்ளு. 10 கரயர். 11 குருந்து. 12 கௌண்டை. 13 சந்தனம். 14 ஆரம். 15 தெரு. 16 தெரு. 17 தரவல். 18 கெல்லி. 19 பலர். 20 பனை. 21 பாநிரி. 22 பாலை. 23 புவி. 24 புன்னை. 25 முரசு. 26 பூவந்தி. 27 மகிழ். 28 மரதே. 29 முருங்கை. 30 மூங்கில். 31 வரகை. 32 மருதம். 33 கன்னி. 34 வில்வம். 35 விளர். 36 கெங்கை. 37 வெம்பு. 38 அரும்பு. 39 இதழ். 40 பூக்கேள். 41 நாரா. 42 பலனம். 43 ஆன்மம். 44 பென்மரம். 45 ஆவி. 46 வெள்ளர். 47 நீர்க்கு. 48 முகண்டை. *Iponxæ Candicans*.

49 புன்கொடி முகண்டைப் பொறிப்புற காஞ்சுப்

பொன்பேரே மீன்மரக் புதற்புதல். *Nedunlāḍai*, 13-14.

50 மணி மயிற் கலரப மஞ்செடைப் பரப்பித்
துணிமறை தவழும் துயங்கறை செடுங் கோல்.

Siṟupāṇāṟruppaḍai, 264-5.

51 தவவு. 52 தோன்றி. 53 தேரு. 54 கௌண்டை. 55 கரயர்.

56 அமிதவளி என்குன்னேற்
கருமலலை யுருதேறவிப்
பொற்கௌண்டை மணிக்காய்.

Porunarāṟruppaḍai, 199-201.

57 குரவம்.

marudam trees; the mango has its branches decorated with tender leaves; the smoke-like cloud creeps along its boughs filled with bunches of flowers; the cuckoos enjoy the beauty of the scene and sing.¹

'The roots of the bamboo are intertwined with each other; when the winds blow upon them they sound like the sigh of the elephant tied to its post. Looking at the moon which crept over the hill standing in a forest of bamboos, I said to myself, another moon (his mistress with a face bright as a moon) with teeth sharp as thorns and a fair face adorned by a sweet-smelling mark (*tilakam*) is standing on the hills, on whose rocks grow trees whose bare branches have shed their leaves in the strong gale, did I not?'²

'The *konrai* flowers spread on a pit cut in a stone resemble a box of the wealthy man, filled with gold coins and kept open.'³ 'The cool flowers of the *talai* (screw-pine), which has bent thorns, when scattered by the winds, run like the pearls of a garland when the thread is snapped, on the white sands of the sea-shore.'⁴

'The garden was crowded with tall bamboos from which thorns hang and on which rest the cuckoos, which have bent claws and thin blue feathers, after drinking the mango juice, sweet as if milk were mixed with it, and after that, the sour juice of the *nelli* fruit.'⁵

'The *mullai*, jasmine, which flowers in places adjoining a stream looks like the teeth of a cat laughing.'⁶

1 குரவுமலர்ச்
தநிர சீவிய வரும்பறித் தவனி
வறவிய வர்மண வகவியாத நடைகரைத்
தறையணி மருத்தொ டிகல்கொள மோங்கிக்
கலுத்தனி ரணித்த விருஞ்சின மரஅத்
நினர்ததை புதுப்பு ரிரைத்த பெரங்கர்ப்
புகைபுகை யம்மஞ் குர
ருகச் சுவிலசவும்.

Agam, 97.

2 பவர்பினி வயநித்தகு கரவரவ 5ரவிய
சக்துபினி யான பயர்வுசீத் தவன
வவனதும் தீடிய வெய்பிறந் கருவதற்கு
குன்னார் மதியை கோக்கி விந்து நின்
துள்ளினே னல்லனோ யானே முன்புளவிறந்
திலகம் தைதிய தேற்கமத் திருநத
வெமறு முண்டோர் மநிகாட் டிகர்கள்
குரகுரால் வெவ்வனி யெடுப்ப சிறற்பல,
வுலவை யாகிய மரத்த
கல்பிறற்கு மாமலை யும்பாகி தெனவே.

Nayirai, 62.

3 கவலை கெண்டிய கல்வாய்ச் சிறகுழி
கொன்றை யொள்வீ நா ஆய்ச்செவ்வர்,
பொன்பெய் பேழை மூவிதற்கு தன்ன.

Kurundogai, 235.

4 கன்னமுன் முண்டகக் கூர்ப்பணி மாமலர்
நூறு முத்திற் காலொடு பாதித்
தறையொடும் பறிகுக் தாமணல்.

Ib., 51.

5 பரங்கலப் பன்ன தேக்கொகக் கருத்துபு
சீல மென்சிறை வஞ்சுகிப்ப பறவை
செவ்வியம்புனி மாத்தி யயலது
முள்ளி வம்பனை மூங்கிலிற் தூங்குத்
கழைகிவச் சோங்கிய சோலை. Ib., 201.

6 அருவிசேர் மருங்கிற் பூத்த முல்லை
வெருகிசீத் தன்ன. Ib., 220.

IDEAL OF FEMININE BEAUTY

A people so acutely observant of natural objects and capable of keen relish of their beauty would naturally deal largely in descriptions of feminine charms; of numerous references to this subject I shall quote but one:—The songstress had hair like the black sand on the sea-shore; her fair forehead was like the crescent moon, her eye-brow bent like the bow that kills; the outer end of her cool eyes was beautiful, her sweetly speaking mouth was red like the sheath of the fruit of the silk cotton tree; her spotlessly white teeth were like rows of many pearls; her ears were like the curved handles of scissors and their lobes were shaking with bright ear rings shaped like the crocodile. Her neck was bent down with modesty; her shoulders were like the waving bamboo trees; her forearms were covered with thin hair; her fingers were like the November flower which grows on the tops of high hills; her brightly shining nails, like the mouth of a parrot. Her breasts, covered with light coloured beauty spots, were such as people thought that it would cause her pain to bear them, and were so high that the rib of a cocoanut leaf could not go between them; her navel was very beautiful and resembled a whirl-pool in water. Her waist was so small that observers could not guess that it existed (and that it bore the weight of the body) with difficulty. Her pudendum was adorned with a *māgalai*, many stringed waist band with many bells, looking as if it swarmed with bees; her thighs, straight and thin like the trunk of a female elephant; her lower legs were covered with hair, as it ought to be, up to the ankles, and her small feet were like the tongue of a tired dog.¹

INDUSTRIES

Carpentry began and was well developed in the Stone Age; for all sorts of carpenter's tools have been picked up from the settlements of the lithic epoch. Most of these tools were made of iron when the Iron Age succeeded. The workers in wood was called *tachchar*² or *yūnar*.³ Carpenters had a greater variety of work to do than in modern days, for besides making the wooden furniture and utensils in

¹ அறல்போல கூசாத பிறைபோல நீருறுதற்
கொலைவீழ் புருவத்துக் கொழுங்கடை மழைக்க
னிலவிதழ் புரைவு மின்மொழித் துவர்வாய்ப்
பலவுறு முத்திற் பழிதீர் வண்பன்
மயிர்குறை கருவி மாண்கடை யன்ன
நுக்குழை யூசற் பொறைசால் காதி
ஞண்டச் சாய்க்த கலங்கெ டெருத்தி
ஞடைமப் பணைதேர னரிமயிர் முன்கை
கெடுவரை மிசைஇப் காத்தன் மெய்விரற்
கிளவா யொப்பி னெனிலிடு வன்னுதி
ரணங்குன வுருத்த கணங்கணி யாகத்
தீர்க்கிடைப் போகா வேளி வனமுலை
தீர்ப்பெயர்ச் சுழிவி னிறைந்த கொப்பூ
முண்டென வுணர் வுயவு கடுவின்
வண்டிருப் பன்ன பலகா முக்கு
வீருப்பிடித் தடக்கையிற் செறித்துநிற் குறங்கெ
பொருத்தமயி ரொழுமிய திருத்தாட் கொப்ப
வருத்த காய் காவிற் பெருத்தரு தோடி. *Pornāyṇṇupadai*, 25-47.

² தச்சி.

³ யானர்.

household use, they had also to build houses, palaces, and temples, carts and chariots. Turning and wood-carving were highly developed. The legs of sitting planks and swinging planks were turned according different designs. Every available corner of wooden articles in houses, carts, and chariots were filled with wood carving, of elaborate patterns carved in minute detail with the extraordinary patience that the Indian artist alone is capable of. No work, big or small, left the carpenter's hands without some art work on it so that there was no sharp distinction as there is in Europe between utilitarian and artistic work. So much so that one of the synonyms for *tachchan*¹ is *Sittiran*,² artist.

Boat building was also an ancient form of wood-work, but was in the hands of men who lived in *Neydal*, that is, coast land. It is worth noting that the boat builders were affiliated with fishermen, so far as social status was concerned. The work of the boat-builder is no less skilful than that of other carpenters; but yet the social position of the later was much higher than that of the former. This was partly because the boat-builders shared in the food and the personal habits of the fishermen among whom they lived; moreover the wood-work of the boat builder is cruder than that of the carpenter and does not admit of art work like other forms of wood work, so that the boat-builder had the status of the journeyman worker whereas the carpenters were allotted the privileges of the artist. While the boat-builders were of low status, chariot-makers were the companions of kings.

Workers in metal were called *kammālar*,³ *akkasāliyar*,⁴ *aṣivar*,⁵ *ovar*,⁶ *kaṇṇālar*,⁷ *kaṇṇinaiṇar*,⁸ *kammiyar*,⁹ *kollar*,¹⁰ *karumār*,¹¹ *tattār*,¹² *tuvaṭṭar*,¹³ *pulavar*,¹⁴ *punaiyar*,¹⁵ *vittagar*,¹⁶ *vittiar*,¹⁷ *vinaiṇar*.¹⁸ They worked in iron, steel, copper, bronze, silver and gold. They were very skilful workers as is proved by the specimens of jewels and utensils recovered from ancient graves. Huge vessels of these various metals were made by hammering into shape immense blocks of metals. This requires much more skill than the method of cutting out sheets, *adar*,¹⁹ *lagadu*,²⁰ of metal, bending them into the shapes of the different parts of a vessel and rivetting or soldering them together, such as is done now. The import of large sheets of thin metal from Germany has made our workers forget the art of hammering out big vessels and making them without joints. The delicate carving on gold and silver that was the glory of ancient India is not yet dead, thanks to the love of personal decoration which modern civilization has not yet been able to root out of the souls of our ladies. Ladies loved jewels so much that there are many words which mean 'to wear jewels,' e.g., *ani*,²¹ *ār*,²² *śūdu*,²³ *punai*,²⁴ *pūn*,²⁵ *malai*,²⁶ *mīlai*,²⁷ *mīlai*,²⁸ *vey*,²⁹ *ey*,³⁰ *vey*; ³¹ the noun forms of many of these words mean jewels. Some professions subsidiary to that of the goldsmiths 'who heat good gold and make shining jewels out of it'³²

1 தச்சர்.	2 தித்திரர்.	3 கம்மாளர்.	4 அக்காசலியர்.	5 அழிவர்.	6 ஒவர்.
7 கண்ணுளர்.	8 கண்ணினுளர்.	9 கம்மியர்.	10 கல்லர்.	11 கருமர்.	12 தட்டர்.
13 குவட்டர்.	14 புலவர்.	15 புணையர்.	16 வித்தகர்.	17 வித்தியர்.	18 விணுளர்.
19 அடர்.	20 தட்டு.	21 அணி.	22 ஆர்.	23 குடு.	24 பு.
25 மிண.	26 மிலை.	27 மிலை.	28 எய்.	29 பூணர்.	30 மலை.

³² குடுவி கண்ணெயர் கட்டிவைத்து புணைக்கும்.

Madurakkāñji, 512.

were those of the *kaḍainar*,¹ who 'turn cut conch shells into bangles,'² *kuyinar*,³ 'who drill holes in beautiful gems'⁴.

The weaver's art was equally well developed. They were called *kammiyar*,⁵ *ṣeniyar*,⁶ *kārugar*.⁷ They hawked clothes about in the streets of towns. 'Young and old weavers assembled where four streets met, stood with their legs touching each other and spread clothes whose folds, short and long, resembled the waves of the sea.'⁸

Similes derived from the work of these workmen are found in literature. One such runs as follows:—'The legs of the crab are like the open jaws of the smith who works at the furnace where air is blown in by pressing bellows made of soft skin.'⁹ 'The leaves of the water-lily are caught in the thorny rasplike stem of the cane which grows on the edges of ponds and waves slowly in the unsteady north-wind and swells and swings like the bellows which drive air quickly into the furnace of the smith.'¹⁰ 'The male bear which has a wide mouth, seeking food, breaks an ant hill whose surface is covered by curved lines and its grunt frightens the snakes which reside in the ant-hill; then it sighs like the nose of the furnace where the smith heats iron.'¹¹

Here is a splendid simile derived from the work of the blacksmith:—

'His chest was as hard as the anvil which stands before the furnace lighted in the smithy where the blacksmith with strong arms turns iron into implements that may be used against the enemy.'¹²

² கோடுபோற் கடைகருக

Maduraiikkāñji, 511.

³ குவினர்.

⁴ திருமணி குவினரும்.

Id., 511.

⁵ கம்மியர்.

⁶ சேனியர்.

⁷ காருகர்.

⁸ தென்முகை பயிரதல் கடுப்ப வெவான்பல்
குறியவு செடியவு மடிதருக விரித்தல்
நிறியரும் பெரியரும் கம்மியர் குதிஇ
கால்வெரு தெருவினும் கரஹ நிறறா.

Id., 519-522.

⁹ மென்றோன்
நிறியலக் கொல்லன் முறிக்கடிந் தன்ன
கைவத்தா எலவன்.

Perumbāṇṇṟrupaḍai, 206-8.

¹⁰ பெயர்கை யடைகரைப் பிரம்பி
னாவா என்ன வம்மு னென்கொடி
யருவி பாரம்ப லகடை துடக்கி
யகைவரல் வாடை தூக்கவி னூதுலை
யிகைவார்கு தீதாலின் வீங்குபு னூதுமும்.

Agam, 96.

¹¹ இரைதே றென்கின் பருவா பேற்றை
கொடுவரிப் புறம் வாய்ப்ப வரங்கி
கல்லரா கடுக்க வுறிக் கொல்ல
னூதுலைக் குருகி னூருவித்தது.

Nayirai, 125.

¹² கருப்பு பயன்படுக்கும் கருக்கைக் கொல்லன்
விசைத்தெறி கடும்மாடு பெருக
முலைக்க லென்ன வல்லா என்னே.

Puṇam, 170.

Other professions that deserve mention are that of the toddy-drawer, oil presser, sugar-cane presser, manufacturer of jaggery and of liquor.

TRADE

The word for trade *vanigam*¹ is usually supposed to be derived from Sanskrit *vāṇijyam*. The probabilities are just the other way about. *Vaniyam* is derived from *vanik* or *banik*, merchant, and this later word is almost certainly from the Vedic *paṇi*. The *paṇis* were the traders of Vedic times and as they were Dasyus and would not pay *dakṣiṇā* to the performers of Ārya rites the Rishis denounced them as being niggards.² The *paṇis* being Dasyus were most probably the Tamil traders of the early Vedic epoch, for in those days the Tamils alone of South Indians were the most civilized tribes and the objects of internal trade, then and for long after, were, as it has been already pointed out, South Indian products like pearls, corals, sandal wood, pepper, and other spices. Hence the word *paṇi* and its variants and derivatives must have passed to North India from the South; hence Tamil *vaniga* became *banik* and *paṇi*. There is a Vedic root *paṇ*, to negotiate, which in later Sanskrit came to mean to stake. This root may have been coined from *paṇi*.

Trade first began in Neydal. For the *paradavar*³ of that region, where cereals could not be raised, could get only fish and salt to eat. Now it may be possible to keep up life solely on fish, all the courses from soup to pudding being made from that one food-stuff, but one cannot live comfortably for any length of time on fish alone, notwithstanding the fact that the remote ancestors of all animals were aquatic beings; for very soon the hankering for vegetable food will assert itself. So the ancient dwellers of the littoral tracts learnt to carry fish and salt and (later salted fish) to the neighbouring *marudam* and barter their goods for cereals. Hence in the poems belonging to the *Neydal tinai*⁴ there is frequent mention of the trade in salt. One instance of it may be given. 'His wounds caused by the sword-fish having been cured, my father has gone to the big blue sea for fishing; my mother too has gone to the salt fields to barter salt for white rice; so if the lover comes now he can without any hindrance meet his mistress.'⁵

Sellers of salt were called *umanar*,⁶ *umattiṭiyar*.⁷ This ancient trade in which a double bag of salt was placed like a saddle on the back of a bull, which was driven from place to place in the interior of the land, can be observed even to-day in far-off villages. When the salt trade reached greater proportions it was carried in carts. 'The wheel, *uruli*⁸ of the cart was surrounded by a round rim *ṣuṭṭu*⁹ which went round the spokes, *ar*,¹⁰ tightly fixed to the hub *kuṛadu*,¹¹ which looked like a drum, *muḻavu*.¹² The strong yoke, *par*,¹³ was fastened to two long beams placed on the axle-tree, *parūkkai*,¹⁴ which looked like an *eḷu*,¹⁵ timber placed between two elephants to prevent them from fighting with each other. Its top, *vāy*,¹⁶ bore a creaking mat of *ragi* stalks, *arvai*,¹⁷ as the hill bears clouds on its top. In the

¹வணிகம். ² R. V. vi. 51. 14 ; vii. 22. 6. ³பரதவர். ⁴கேய்தல்திணை.

⁵ ஒரு வெறித்த புண்டணிக் தெத்தையு
சீனிதப் பெருங்கடல் புக்கனன் யாவு
முப்பை மாந் வெண்ணெய் நீஇய
வுப்புலினை தழனி சென்றன எதனூந்
பனியிரும் பரப்பிற் சேர்ப்பத

Kurundogai, 269.

⁶ உமானர். ⁷ உமட்டியர்.

⁸ உருளி.

⁹ சுட்டி.

¹⁰ ஆர்.

¹² முழவு.

¹³ பார்.

¹⁴ பருக்கை.

¹⁵ எலு.

¹⁶ வாய்.

¹⁷ ஆர்வை.

front of a hut which possessed a hen-coop, resembling a loft from which men guard the crops from being devastated by elephants, was a woman, with a child at her side, and a twig of margosa with flowers and leaves held in her hands to protect the child from demons ; she stood near the yoke from which was hanging a pot of vinegar, tied with strings like the drum of a dancing girl on a dancing platform ; and she beat the back of the bull with a wooden mortar whose mouth was as big as the knee of a female elephant with tusks resembling the shoot of a bamboo. Their men who wore garlands of flowers and leaves, whose shoulders were big, beautiful and strong, and whose limbs were supple and powerful, walked by the cart to whose yokes rows of bulls were tied with ropes passing through small holes ; the men saw that the carts were not upset. They fixed the price of salt in terms of other articles and passed along the road with teams of reserve bulls to replace those that became exhausted.¹

What an extremely realistic and at the same time highly poetical description of a subject which no modern man would regard as capable of poetic treatment at all !

Another article hawked about from place to place was pepper. Grown in Malabar, the land of the Śēras, it was a necessary ingredient of curry throughout South India. 'Pepper bags looking like the small-pulped big jack fruit which grows at the foot of the majestic jack-tree are balanced on the strong, scarred, prick-eared donkey which carries the pepper along long roads where tolls are collected. These roads are guarded by bow-men.'²

Gradually as cities grew in size, the power of monarchs grew to ample proportions, civilization advanced, and trade in numerous articles of necessity and luxury grew in the land. In cities 'there were people who vended various things including many beautiful looking

கொழுங்குட் டருகிய நிருகதில் பாரதத்
முழவி னன்ன முழுந் வருவி
யெழுஉப் புணர்த்தன்ன பருஉக்கை கோள்பார,
மரிக் குன்ற மறைமகம் தன்ன
வாரை வேய்த்த வுறவாய்ச் சகடம்
வேழம் காவலர் குரம்பை யேயப்பக
கோழி சேக்கும் கூடுடைப் புதலின்
முண்டையிற நிரும்பிடி முழநதர னேய்க்குத்
துளையரைச் சிறு நூங்கத் தூக்கி
சாடக மகனி ராகுகைத் தெழித்த
விவிலிம் இன்னியல் கடுப்பக் கயிற்பிணித்துக்
காடி வைத்த கலனுடை முக்கின்
மகவுடை மகடேப் பசுபுறக தூப்பக்
கோட்டிணர் வேமயி னேட்டிலை மீடைத்த
படலைக் கண்ணிப் பரோடறுத்த நிணிதோன்
முடலை யாக்கை முழுவலி மரக்கன்
சிறுதுளைக் கொடுதக் கெறிபட லிறைத்த
பெருக்கயிற் குறுமுறை மருங்கிற காப்பச்
சிப்பத வுணவின கொள்ளை சாற்றிப்
பல்லுருத் தமணர் பறிபோரு டெடுகந்

Perumbāṇayruppāḍai, 46-65.

தடவுறில்ப் பலவின் முழுமுதற் காண்ட
சிறுசுனைப் பெரும்பழம் கடுப்ப தெறியற
புணர்ப்பொறை தாங்கிய வலொழி கோள்புறத
தணர்ச்செவிக் கழுதைச் சாத்தோடு வழங்கு
முங்குடைப் பெருவழிக் கவலைக் காக்கும்
விலுடை வைப்பு.

ibid., 77-82.

articles of food, produced in the hill country, in the low country and in the sea. There were traders who, brought different kinds of brilliant gems, pearls and gold from far off lands.... There were men who assayed gold; there were sellers of clothes, vendors of copper vessels which were sold by weight, men who, when their business was over, tied the proceeds to their loin cloth, men who sold choice flowers, and scented pastes. There were clever painters, *kannul vinaiñar*,¹ who painted pictures of all kinds of minute incidents'.² This description pertains to the trade of the beginning of the first millennium A.D., but this trade could not have differed from that of a very much earlier epoch, because civilization did not grow by leaps and bounds in any particular period, but grew so gradually that the life conditions of any one epoch resembled very much those of previous ages.

'Traders carried jewels to foreign countries on ships that had sails spread in the wind and that sailed on the ocean whose waves smelt of fish'.³ They carried jewels for sale on land, but in a country where the *Mayavar* followed as their only profession that of highway robbery, the travels of traders were fraught with adventure. 'The merchants who enabled all men to enjoy the grand things which are found on the mountain and in the sea have breasts full of scars made by the piercing arrows, clothes tied tight round their waists and a knife stuck into it, strong broad shoulders to which was attached the cruel bow and so resembled *Murugan* who wears the *Kaḍambu* flower. They held in their hands a big spear like *Yaman*. A stinging dagger with a white handle made of ivory, looking like a snake creeping on a hill, was tied with a belt to their shoulders; their strong feet were covered with shoes and they wore coats'.⁴

¹ கண்ணுள் வினைஞர்.

பல்வேறு பண்டமே னேமலித்த கவினி
மலைபடி நிலத்தடி தீரவும் பிறவும்
பல்வேறு திருமணி முதமொடு பெரண்டுகாண்டு
நிறத்த நேர்த்துப் பண்ணியம் பகர்சாரும்
... ..
பெரண்டுகை காண்மரும் கவின்கம் பகர்சாரும்
செம்புநிறை கொண்மரும் வம்புநிறை முடிசாரும்
பூவும் புடைபு மாபு மரக்கரு
மெய்வகைச் செம்பிபு முவமங்காட்டி
நண்ணிநி னுணர்ந்த நுழைந்த கோக்கிநி
கண்ணுள் வினைஞரும்.

Maduraiikkāñji, 503-6, 513-18.

'பண்ணியம்' in this passage meaning an article of trade is a derivative of *Paṇi* trader.

³ காலிதை பெடுத்த வரிதரு வங்கம்

... ..

கண்தலை வினைஞர் கலங்கொண்டு மறுக.

Id., 536 and 539.

⁴ மலைபடி கடலடி மாண்பயர் தருக.

மருப்பொரு ளுத்துத் திருத்துதொடை கோன்று

ஊடுபுதை பரண மெய்திப் படம்புக்குப்

பொருகளை தொலைச்சிய புணைவர் மரப்பின்

விரவுவரிக் கச்சின் வெண்கை பொய்வரன்

வரைபூர் பரம்பின் பூண்டுபுடை ஞங்கச்

கரிசை நுழைந்த சுற்றவீங்கு செறிவுடைக்

கருவி லோச்சிய கண்ணை நெறந்ததோட

படம்பம் தெடுவே என்ன மீதி

புடம்பித்த நடக்கை மோடர வம்பலர்.

Perunbanṇṇuppaḍai, 67-76.

Balances for weighing articles of trade were of two kinds. One was the steel-yard called *ñemankōl*¹ or *niṣaiṅkōl*;² this was made of wood and resembled the steelyards used in villages to-day; rich merchants, however, used steelyards made of ivory.³ The second was the *tarāṣu*,⁴ a pair of scales. All this trade was carried on by barter, as old Indians did not like to coin metal, and when they got coins from foreign countries, made jewels of them for their bosoms or hoarded them deep in the bosom of mother-earth.

Traders, in the Tamil country, were and are called *ṣeṭṭi*.⁵ This word has been sanskritized into *śreṣṭhī* and assimilated to the adjective *śreṣṭha*, excellent. *Śreṣṭhī* is by some supposed to have degenerated into *ṣeṭṭi*; I consider this derivation to be a topsy-turvy one. *Ṣeṭṭi* is the personal noun from *ṣeṭṭu*, trade, a *ṣeṭṭi* being one who pursues *ṣeṭṭu*, trade, as his profession; for it is absurd to think that the Tamil traders carried on their profession for ages without a name for their profession or for themselves as followers of the profession. Hence it is reasonable to infer that *śreṣṭhī* is Tamil *ṣeṭṭi* dressed in a Sanskrit garb. Sanskrit scholars suffer from a form of superiority-complex and believe that Sanskrit, the language of the Gods, being a perfect language, could not stoop so low as to borrow words from the languages of men. Hence they are fond of inventing derivations, ingenious and plausible, but absurd from a historical point of view, for words borrowed from foreign sources. Thus they say that *hammīra*, borrowed from Persian *amīr*, is a contraction of *aham vīrah*; they explain *kshatrapa*, satrap also borrowed from Persian, as *kshtram pātīti kshatrapah*; they derive *horā*, which was borrowed from Greek, from *ahorātram*, with its head and its tail amputated. The derivation of *ṣeṭṭi* from *śreṣṭhī* is of a piece with these products of a perverse ingenuity.

The capital with which the ancient traders traded was called *mudal*,⁶ initial stock. I wonder whether *mudaliyār*⁷ meant originally men with *mudal*. There has always been a rivalry between *mudaliar* and *pillai*⁸ with regard to social status; does this point to an ancient rivalry between merchants and agriculturists? We have no materials which can help us to solve this question. Literary evidence merely indicates that both those who produced crops and those who sold them belonged to the class of *mēlōr*,⁹ who were qualified to become the heroes of love poems.

Trade on any scale would scarcely be possible without debts. The word *kaḍan*¹⁰ shows that debts were contracted in olden times. Interest was called *vaṭṭi*,¹¹ a word usually identified with prakrit *vaḍḍi* Sanskrit *vridhhi*. The Tamil word might as well be derived from Tamil *vaṭṭu*, a small piece, or *vaṭṭi*, cowries, cowries being small change, *sillarai*.¹² *Vāṣi*¹³ meant a deduction other than *vaṭṭi*; the literal meaning of the word seems to be 'additional'. The places where mercantile transactions took place were *kaḍai*,¹⁴ *maḷigai*,¹⁵ *aṅgādi*,¹⁶ and *sandai*,¹⁷ which has become in English 'Shandy'.

¹ ஸ்ரீமன்மேகலம்.

² நிசைந்தம்.

யானை வரன்மருப் பெய்தத் பெய்க்கடை
கோலிதைத் துலகாயும்.

Puṇam 39.

³ தராக.
¹¹ வட்டி.

⁵ செட்டி.
¹² சில்லறை.

⁶ முதல்.

⁷ முதலியார்
¹⁴ கடை.

⁸ பிள்ளை.
¹⁵ மலிகை.

⁹ மீலர்.
¹⁷ சாந்தி.

There are several minor subjects about which the evidence of pure Tamil words and of early literature can be profitably used¹, but which I have now no time to deal with. Those subjects are: Diseases and medicines, knowledge of human and animal anatomy, notions of jurisprudence, recognized terms of relationship, death-rites, division of time, astronomical notions, knowledge of colours, of meteorological phenomena, reading and writing, notions of psychology and ethics. Without the inclusion of these subjects, our reconstruction of the life of the ancient Tamils will not be complete.

This life of the Tamil people slowly evolved from the beginning of the Old Stone Age, that of the Āryas of North India began to influence. This was not a catastrophic inroad into the south from the north but a very slow process of infiltration. This infiltration began in the middle of the third millennium B.C. Then Paraśurāma settled with a number of followers, south of the Vindhya. Many of Viśva-mitra's sons, soon after, migrated to South India, as the *Āitareya Brāhmaṇa* informs us. But yet at the beginning of the second millennium B.C., when Rāma crossed the Godāvari, the non-Aryan Rākshasas were predominant in Southern India and the southernmost Ārya colony was that of the Āgastyas on the banks of that river. In the age of the Mahābhārata, in which Tamil soldiers took part, Ārya influence in Southern India increased. But still in about the sixth century B.C. Āpastambha, the last of the Sūtrakāras, called a Rishi by courtesy, flourished near the banks of the Godāvari and made laws for the Āryas there. Tamil India produced no Rishi, neither a Rishi of the *mantradrashī* type, nor even of the later type of the promulgator of the Śrauta, Grihya, and Dharma Sūtras. Into the Tamil land, Brāhmanas, Bauddhas, and Jainas spread in the centuries preceding and succeeding the beginning of the Christian era. The early Pallavas of Kāñchi were chiefly responsible for this migration of the Āryas. Notwithstanding the widespread of Brāhmanas, literature was chiefly in the hands of the Tamil *Pāṇar* and hence neither the Sanskrit language nor Sanskrit literature exercised much influence till about the fifth century after Christ. Early in that age, Triṇadhūmagṇi, author of *Tolkappiyam*, tried to adapt the social system of the northerners to the Tamil people, but without any success. Meanwhile the religious ideas of the *Itihāsas* spread among the common people. The teachings and practices of the Bauddhas and the Jainas were also promulgated from the monasteries of those monks. The complicated rites of Siva-worship and Viṣṇu-worship as propounded in the Āgamas were adopted by the people and temple rites became the monopoly of a special sect of Brāhmanas; as a result of this, these two cults became wedded to the Ārya system of four varṇas, ill-adjusted to the old-scheme of Tamil classes. One of the results of this was the extension of the idea of endogamous caste and the rise of innumerable castes marked by endogamy—an idea unknown to the Tamils of the early ages. Another result was that Tamil lost its linguistic and literary independence. A copious flow of Sanskrit words into the Tamil tongue took place. In the region of literature, the old ode, *agaval*¹ gave place to *kāvīyam*.² Not only literary forms but also literary images, literary conventions, and poetic images, belonging to

Sanskrit, crept into Tamil poems. The *Mokshaśāstram* of the north-erners, represented by the *Upaniṣhads*, the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Vedānta Sūtras*, prevailed in the South. Very soon South India more than amply repaid this debt to North India by producing the three great *Bhāṣyakāras*—Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Ānandatīrtha.

The genius of Tamil is marked by the scientific temperament ; concrete ideas and images appeal to the Tamil people and hence Tamil is peculiarly fitted to be the vehicle of scientific knowledge. The genius of Sanskrit is marked by the philosophical temperament ; it revels in abstractions which are the life-breath of philosophy. It was the wedding of Tamil genius and Sanskrit genius that is responsible for South Indian thinkers having become the guides of Indian thought during the last thousand years. In our days the genius of Europe has begun to influence India. The great ambition of Europe is to amass wealth and to utilize it for raising the standard of life, by developing the means of attainment of the ever-increasing methods of appealing to the senses, not only the five senses, but also that of locomotion. How far the genius of Europe is going to alter the life of the Tamils is concealed in the womb of time. We have succeeded in tearing the veil of past time and getting a few glimpses of ancient life ; but future time is covered by a veil of nebulous matter which cannot be pierced by any known methods of enquiry.